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The Challenge of Present-Day Fundamentalism

GEORGE M. GIBSON

The movement called Fundamentalism was historically timed to meet the rising influences of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment on the religious life of America.

The main characters of the modern mood are easily recognizable and need here the barest restatement. There was, first, an emphasis upon man as of greater importance than religious dogma; the mood was humanistic as opposed to the medieval stress upon a body of doctrine. Next, there was a reliance upon nature with an accompanying distrust of the supernatural. Reason was elevated above faith. The scientific method was considered applicable to all realms of reality, and was received as the new authority replacing older acceptances of revealed truth. Humanitarian idealism in an evolutionary setting replaced the ancient issue between sin and salvation in its sub-human and super-human dimensions.

Walter Lippmann had not yet written of "the acids of modernity," but there is no doubt they had long eaten away at the foundations of traditional religion. By the latter part of the last century two distinct movements appeared, almost simultaneously, each in strong opposition to the other. The one, which came to be known as Modernism, was a projection of the Renaissance spirit on the religious level. Its chief emphases were: (1) literary and historical criticism of the Bible; and (2), the social application of prophetic Christianity.

The other was Fundamentalism, which came, not as an extension of the Renais-

sance, but as a re-action against it. It was a rigorous return to a rigid system of dogma presented as holding the undebatable absolutes of Christian revelation.

The issue was projected in a series of brochures, entitled "The Fundamentals," which appeared about the beginning of our century. The main planks in the Fundamentalist platform, as set forth in these pamphlets and in the subsequent propaganda, were: (1) the doctrine of plenary inspiration and inerrancy of the Scripture; (2) the doctrine of the virgin birth of Jesus, with literal acceptance of the miracles; (3) the physical resurrection of our Lord and of the redeemed, (4) the substitutionary theory of the atonement, and (5) the second coming of Christ. There were other "fundamentals," perhaps as many as twelve, but the list given here well describes the spirit and content of the movement.

The issues thus raised were brought into the churches after World War I and were debated by clergy and laity with great heat and some light. A wide public response was guaranteed because of the ill-defined discomfort long felt by the modern man of intelligence with a religion which failed to meet him where he lived in his thinking processes. No doubt, most of us were influenced largely by this controversy. Indeed, it may be assumed that readers of this Journal were on the side of intellectual integrity and the new religious deal and against those doing valiant battle for "the faith once delivered to the saints." Whatever the orthodox got

out of the conflict in terms of a stronger assurance of their standing-ground, we liberals received the excitement of released intellectual and moral power, sometimes accompanied by a taste of the glory of martyrdom not altogether imaginary, and a share in the ultimate victory of "the religion of the spirit" as against "religions of authority."

For the victory was pronounced if not complete. The modern mood captured the centers of learning and contemporary literature, and sooner or later, most of the pulpits of the leading denominations. In a short generation, or even in a decade or two, American Protestantism had, in its articulate branches, an entirely remade constituency of laymen who, up to their lights, believed in the new findings, accepted evolution, and joyfully practised freedom from ecclesiastical or theological controls. The long battle was won; we needed now only to go confidently forward to the "far off divine event toward which the whole creation moves."

But was the victory pyrrhic? For, having won the right to think, to persuade, and to worship according to individual tastes and consciences, the liberal churches ceased to grow, and in many cases declined. The sharp drop of the church schools almost precisely co-incides with the movement of modern religious education which was informed with the spirit of the new liberalism. In a recent statistical spread compiled by Dr. Norman C. Richardson, the order from heaviest losses to heaviest gains almost exactly conforms to the order from most pronouncedly liberal to most definitely orthodox church schools. There is a danger of drawing superficial conclusions from such facts, but it is not superficial to recognize that somehow the new freedom has failed to capture the imagination and loyalty of the masses, and has left the conscious and unconscious needs of common folk unsatisfied.

The exhilaration of the struggle of controversy failed to continue after the objectives had been won. There is no fun demolishing idols which are already cast down, and Don Quixote will always be a droll and pitiful exception to the general rule. When the heat of the controversy had been cooled by the winds of victory, it gradually became apparent that somehow this new mood, for all its intellectual and ethical values, had failed to reach into the vital energies of human personality at the center of commitment. The appeal to a merely individual freedom could not carry with it a challenge to deep devotion and sacrificial loyalty.

Meantime, liberalism in its pride of mind, could not read warning in the fact that the intellectually defeated Fundamentalists continued to grow, propagating new sects more rapidly than the ecumenical movement could unify old ones. The Fundamentalists had no respectable literature; their seminaries were centers of indoctrination rather than seats of learning; they were not at all wise in the wisdom of the world. Yet, with a primitive enthusiasm they went into the highways and byways with busses and placards, and grew. Consistently, year after year, they have marked increases in their churches and church schools, sometimes reaching as high as a thousand per cent. In store-fronts, tabernacles and Four-Square Temples, they grew and are growing by leaps and bounds while the more sophisticated liberals abandoned their sanctuaries for social service committees or for private contemplations.

This progressive abandonment of the Church by intellectuals is only one feature of the modern mood, but it is an important one. Its close relationship to the whole milieu of the modern mind is seen in the fact that it appears at its worst in the vicinity of the universities which were organized to implement religion. Recently announced statistics for my own area, compiled by Dr. Samuel C. Kincheloe, show this vicinity of the University of Chicago as

close to the foot for all America in church membership, relative to population. Some 20% of the population and only 8% of the university faculty claim any living relationship with the organized religious forces of their own community. The churches, many of them nationally-known institutions with prominent men in their pulpits, are content if they hold their own in the midst of a population continually on the increase.

Yet, the self-satisfaction of liberalism has affected its capacity for self-criticism concerning its own failures, or its ability to find in the successes of the simpler-minded Fundamentalists anything to improve its own position. Indeed, the more effete the Church the more readily it makes a virtue of its select smallness, while regarding the enthusiastic sectarians as curious phenomena in crowd psychology. With Dr. Charles Braden's recent articles in *The Christian Century*, a belated interest in the sectarian movements appeared.

But it took more than the conservative threat to stir an inert liberalism into a new investigation of its own presuppositions. The challenge came, neither from its own obvious failure to reach the masses, nor from the relative success of the sectarian churches, but from a ten-year depression and a Second World War, involving the entire Western world in the profoundest cultural crisis of history.

The question now was not whether the threadbare creeds of Fundamentalism were sufficient, but whether the most highly intellectual, scientifically informed, and ethically alert version of Christianity was in any sense prepared for this cataclysm. Could liberalism discover and serve the needs of the human spirit now so grievously confused? Could it find and utilize the tremendous energies of human personality and relate them to the cultural conflict in a manner to give meaning to individual existence and hope for social healing? Was liberalism in any adequate manner equipped for the

heroic task now set for religion in a world of utter moral confusion and under judgment for its past follies and crimes?

The critique of liberalism had to come. It is significant that it did come, not from Fundamentalists, who were without any proper critical equipment, but from those who in almost every case had been the best examples of the very liberalism they now criticized. The uncritical liberals have disposed of themselves by converting to a new liberal fundamentalism, and are without historical significance for their times. Still contending against the assumptions of a former religious orthodoxy, and leaving their own assumptions unexamined, they look upon every effort to explore the deeper dimensions of religious reality as a "return to Fundamentalism."

The significant expression of Christianity today is found in the re-appraisal both critical and appreciative, of the classical articles of faith, and the effort to find for our time the meanings of Christianity's insights formerly obscured by literal acceptance of their doctrinal statements, or lost by their literal rejection. This newer expression, often referred to as "Neo-Orthodoxy," or "Realistic Theology," is in no sense to be confused with Fundamentalism. Taking its beginning in a realization of the limitations of the naturalistic intellectualism of modernism, it moves forward to a rediscovery of the classic truths of Christianity and their illumination of the problem of human existence. To this task it brings the full equipment of the liberal era, its biblical scholarship, its ethical and moral concern, and is thoroughly conversant with the contributions of modern science, particularly psychology and sociology. These interests and characteristics set it apart from the older Fundamentalism, with its blind acceptance of ancient forms, as completely as it is set apart from unreconstructed liberalism with its equally blind acceptance of naturalistic and humanistic assumptions, and its ready rejection of realities beyond comprehension. The field of concern of the neo-orthodox includes such

questions as the nature of God, of Christ, of man; sin and redemption; judgment and grace; the problem of knowledge and the part of faith and revelation in the process of knowing; and the significance of eschatology, which is the teaching of final consummation. There is a deepened interest in the Bible, not merely as literature, but as containing an authentic account of God's dealing with man in history; and in the Church, not as a mere social institution, but as an order grounded in the spiritual and social realities of the universe.

Religion, through this expression, is seeking once more to understand the basic needs of human nature, and to move forward to meet them. We can but briefly suggest those needs which Fundamentalism met but superficially, and which Modernism largely ignored in its fascination with its own intellectual achievements.

Man needs, first of all, *a sense of objective reality to deliver him from the subjectivism of his selfish wishes and desires, and their resultant confusions*. He needs this to give him a true perspective upon himself, that he may see himself as small, and as tall, as he really is. This is what classic Christianity has called the sense of creatureship. It is man's continual confession that "He hath made us and not we ourselves," by which he is crowned with the dignity of true humility. It is his sense of dependence upon God, which Schleiermacher considered the essence of religion, and which the modern mood replaced with its arrogant reliance upon unaided human nature. Even so, the modern mood recognized the need for objectivity in all scientific endeavors, calling for disinterestedness which would leave men in their quest for truth unencumbered by personal wishes and desires. Strangely enough, the same spirit sought to abandon religion to subjectivity, making it a matter of the tastes and inventions of man's own idealism. A resultful religion will not inspire young people to "write their own ten commandments" (to borrow a title from one

example of the contemporary mood), but will lead them toward a discovery of the real universe whose truths remain true whether accepted or disobeyed.

Next, we need *the stabilizing assurance of guidance of authority*. In the face of many abuses of authority this needs to be said guardedly, but it needs, nevertheless, to be said. We will have authority, or we will have the unguided experimentalism that marked the post-war years with spiritual anarchism and mental confusion. If the universe is real enough to hang together, we may well assume there are trunk-line realities in it. On every level we find some truth which is not subject to our opinions. Poison will poison him who takes it though he chooses to believe it harmless. Certainly all truth is not the creation of alert imaginations nor the product of democratic discussion groups. Part of man's revolt today is against the very freedom we won against former spurious authorities. The present situation is compact of dangers, and the chief hazard is that modern man, weary of his own unguided liberty, will cry out, "Give us a king that we may be like others," not much caring who his king shall be. To recognize the authoritarian character of truth, and yet to remain undeceived by false theological, ecclesiastical or philosophical claimants, is man's need at this present hour. And classic Christianity aids him by reminding him, "There is none else besides God."

Man needs *dedication to something not himself*. This recognition goes quite against the grain of the self-expressionism which ran rife in recent religious and educational circles. A liberalism which thought in terms of one's own freedom to express whatever happened to be in him, noble or ignoble, excellent or tawdry, has largely given way to a recognition that fullness of life is achieved, paradoxically, by giving life away. Ortega y Gasset wrote, "Life is the only thing in the universe that exists by giving itself away." This is what Dr. Otto had in mind in saying, "There is something in the universe that

wants you." Self-assertion is a denial of religion though it be done in religion's name. And its end-product is a neurotic individual, divided against himself and against society, because he is undedicated to God. Karl Barth, for all his excesses, has properly placed the center of religion in "Man's decision on the decision of God." Kierkegaard seems appropriate for today largely because he wrote so movingly of the human need for a total unifying commitment of the will of man to the will of God. Religion is not a speculative theory about life. It is a call for decision and action by faith in its supreme Object.

All the foregoing implies that man needs *discipline for the welfare of his body, mind and spirit, in order to overcome the natural libertinism of the prideful human will.* Vagrant ambitions beckon him on every side. His whims are fitful, his ego-drive enormous, and his sense of responsibility weak. Nothing could have been more damaging personally and socially, or more completely false in its view of man's needs, than modernistic encouragement of impulsiveness. Every achievement of man is based on his submission to the disciplines inherent in his projects. As artist, he must practice, as scholar he must study, as man of affairs, he must control himself under schedules and procedures. The modern mood tried to exempt religion from this necessary requirement of regularity of devotional discipline, and so cultivated a generation that seemed to think the religious life could be had without effort, that it came fullgrown from the head of emancipated intellectuals. And so, an undisciplined generation is finding the need for that which will bend and shape the will. It is finding it in no pleasant or promising way. The man that controls himself is greater than he that taketh a city; but he who cannot control himself will be controlled by something or by someone, whether he will or not. His destiny lies in his faithful decision to follow the true rather than the false as his life's guide.

And, finally, man at his deepest level needs *the sense of mystery as he stands in the presence of God's wondrous universe and surrounded with manifold wisdom of God himself.* Deep still calleth unto deep. It were folly to say that man is not affected by that which lies beyond his understanding. He is altogether in its hands. His attitude toward that which is beyond him, beyond all he can discern of God, is tremendously important to the significance and richness of his life. A three-dimensional naturalism which denies all it cannot comprehend, can never satisfy these human beings who are made for eternity. There is something in man which transcends man, and he can give it expression only in worship. The effort to reduce the universe in all its marvelous manifestations to plausible explanation, in the end explains nothing but its own superficiality. The older Fundamentalism, though trying to conserve a literal belief in miracles, failed to quicken man to deep sensitivity because it offered him a creed instead of a living God. The mystery of God can make little appeal to those who have perfectly reduced him to definition. But the newer Modernism, enamored of scientific method to the exclusion of both faith and imagination, served man's need for wonder little better. The only full expression of this wonder of man before the mystery of the universe, is worship. And it is of tremendous importance that he direct that worship toward that which alone is worthy of his supreme devotion, God, Creator of all things, Judge of all men.

The deep spiritual and moral needs of man which are felt under the impact of world crisis are not products of the crisis, but, rather, indicators of the essential nature of man; these needs are subject to tragic deceits and neglects and are often disappointed by religion itself; and the classic biblical tradition with its historic modifications offers the fullest and most realistic meeting of man's essential requirements.

Early Christian Attitudes Toward Judaism and the Jews

PAUL E. DAVIES

IN studying the attitudes of early Christians toward Jews and Judaism the modern student encounters the initial difficulty of taking the spiritual and emotional temperature of the far-distant past through the medium of written documents and official pronouncements. The real temper of the people living in constant, daily contact may escape us, especially since we must rely on a limited number of documents and authorities. The difficulty is further complicated by the fact that Judaism already had a history in the contemporary world and a record of both esteem and prejudice. The problem is compounded when we remember that Christianity began within the bounds of Judaism, that is, as a sect within and not separate from Judaism, and Christianity remained in touch with the parent religion for many years. Furthermore, in gauging the development of attitude, we run into additional difficulty in the fact that both Judaism and Christianity underwent drastic changes in status in the period under study, Judaism passing through the tragedy of 70 and 131 A.D., and Christianity moving out from the protection of Judaism to independent life as a Gentile religion, subject to persecution and later established in the Roman State under Constantine.

I. *The General Status of the Jews in the Roman Empire.*

The position of the Jews in the Roman Empire is important for this study, because Christianity and the Christians as originally a part of Judasim inherited and shared that position whether of esteem or prejudice. Furthermore, Gentile converts to Christianity were already conditioned in their attitude by their pagan point of view toward the Jews. For example, the Roman governor,

Ambrose, even when baptized, may have carried into the bishopric of Milan some of his violent hatred of the Jews.

The Jews and their synagogues were scattered throughout the Empire. Their numbers have been estimated from four to seven million persons. Into these far-flung centers the Jews carried their own religion and their separate manner of life. In time they came to enjoy special privileges such as freedom to worship in assemblies, freedom to send their temple-tax to Jerusalem, freedom from military duty and the right to live by their own laws.

From their pagan neighbors they won for themselves the epithet '*atheoi*', not "atheists" but "opposed to the gods." They were considered superstitious, inhospitable and anti-social, and they were sometimes charged with ritual murder. Josephus devotes large space in his writing, *Contra Apion*, to refuting the slanders about his people. The proselyting zeal of the Jews would be another source of irritation, especially to the authorities.

In Alexandria the relations between Jews and Egyptians were often riotous and bloody, and many wild accusations arose in this area. In Rome the Jews would be tolerated and allowed to maintain their separate life. We hear of expulsions, first in 139 B.C., then again under Tiberius and under Claudius. But on the whole the Roman government respected Jewish sensibilities and rights against a public which found this people persistently strange and often irritating.

II. *The Separation of Christianity from Judaism.*

At what point did Christianity stand off as separate from Judaism? No sharply de-

finer answer can be given, for life lags behind the insight of the leaders, and a living fellowship is broader than a system of thought or belief. Judaism as the base of reference for such a break should afford us the prime tests in the supremacy of the Torah for religious living, and the consequent necessity of circumcision for covenant relations and social exclusiveness. Could we say that Christianity reached individual identity over against Judaism when the movement abandoned the Torah as of first importance for salvation, and consequently when circumcision was not required for the enjoyment of the promises and for Christian fellowship? When was that point reached?

The main bearing of Jesus' life and ministry was within the bounds of Judaism. His audience was primarily Jewish, and he lived and died in the hope that the nation would repent. His last effort was to claim the capital and even by his death he hoped to win over a stubborn people.

Nevertheless Jesus from the beginning of his ministry did not conform to the system of thought and living. In his temptations we see that he was bound to disappoint contemporary hopes. Here at the outset he rejected the method of militarism in Zealot activism, a rejection significant of the ultimate rift, since the whole nation in 66-70 A.D. was carried headlong into this program. Jesus held an independent attitude toward the Law, and with self-assured authority he reinterpreted features of the Mosaic Law. To strict Jews he must have appeared to play fast and loose with such important items as Sabbath observance, washings, association with outcasts, etc. The emphasis of his teaching was away from externalism and in the direction of inwardness after the emphasis of the prophets. His apocalypticism and his expectation of the kingdom immediately to come did not comport with the strictest loyalty to the revealed will of God in the Torah. So Jesus, on a minimum count, would be accounted as

critical of Jewish leaders and the Jewish system, even though he hoped to reform it. And there are not lacking suggestions of a broader sympathy upon the part of Jesus, sympathy for the outcast and irreligious, for the Syrophoenician woman, possibly for the Samaritan. The persistent charge about destroying the Temple and rebuilding it sounds like a new order of religion.

Jewish criticism of Jesus would not narrow the gap. They accepted his exorcisms but perversely attributed them to power of the devil. Jesus' death at the hands of the Romans but by instigation of the priests is most eloquent of the fact that the Jewish leaders had rejected Jesus even if Jesus had not rejected them.

The primitive community lived for the time under the shadow of the Temple and clearly within the bounds of Judaism, the chief difference being that they were convinced that Messiah had come in the person of Jesus and would shortly come again with power. But if Peter's speech at Pentecost is primitive, it is a direct reproach to the Jewish nation: "Ye men of Israel,—ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay him—this Jesus whom ye crucified." Then again, in the conversion of Cornelius, Peter made a breach in the tight exclusiveness of Jewry in receiving an uncircumcised man. Stephen's speech has one theme in the disobedience of the nation down through the generations, an anticipation of much later interpretation of the Old Testament in terms of Jewish rejection of the counsels of God. The unconverted Saul saw the rift between the new movement and the parent faith, and by violence he would have stamped it out. Then with equal forthrightness as a converted man he came to see the response to the Gospel in Gentile as well as Jew, and he recognized the implications for the Christian faith. Paul's letters make his position clear. Since faith is the way of acceptance with God, Christians would stultify themselves if they insisted on the Torah and obedience to Law as essential. (The compromise of

Acts 15 has little meaning in the light of Paul's strong words in the Epistle to the Galatians.) The Epistle to the Romans presents his attitude toward, and hope for, the Jews: their's are the oracles of God, and surely they will be won at last, perhaps through jealousy over the inclusion of the Gentiles. For all his biting criticism of the Jews and Judaizers (Galatians 5:12, for example), Paul never ceased to work and pray for his brethren in the Jewish nation.

The Jews apparently realized how separate the movement might become, and in this period they displayed a violent persecuting zeal which is not clearly evident in the later period. They could do this, for they still had the upper hand, they could say who was or who was not a Jew, and they retained authority in the synagogues over these Jewish Christians. In Acts 28:22 the Jewish group in Rome reported that the Way or sect was everywhere spoken against. Peter, Stephen, James felt the force of their punishment. Paul's "stripes" may be laid to the charge of Jewish persecution. Later the Jewish authorities were not in a position to exert such violent coercion, although their hostility may have continued.

The Synoptic Gospels reflect a widening breach and a sharpened criticism of Jewish practice together with an enlarged interest in the Gentile mission. Mark 7:19b "making all meats clean" is a practical abrogation of the law of things clean and unclean, and many scholars set it down to a later development. The woes against the Pharisees may well stem from Jesus' criticism of these earnest people, but surely the edge of this criticism has been sharpened by the experience of the early church that suffered at the hands of Pharisaic and scribal leaders! In Matthew 10 we have the prophecy of the persecution of the twelve in synagogues and before councils with scourging and killing as their portion. Surely the sight of the prophetic eye has been sharpened by the historic actualities of Jewish persecution. Likewise, Luke can "streamline history" and

see the germ of the world mission of Jesus in the speech at Nazareth, in Jesus' interest in the Samaritans, as well as in the whole outworking of the Gentile mission in the Book of Acts.

Jesus' lament over Jerusalem is recorded in Matthew and Luke, and is suggestive of the growing hopelessness and despair of the church for the Jews in the period before and after 70 A.D. In fact all three Synoptic Gospels see fit to incorporate Jesus' prophecy of the destruction of the Temple and the persecution of the Christians which will follow in the synagogues and elsewhere. At the time of the writing of the Synoptic Gospels the Christian mind looked to Judaism no longer with hope for her regeneration but only with dread at her violent retaliation.

Through these most formative years up to 70 A.D. the issue for the Jews turned on the primacy of the Law. For the Christian leaders it turned on the acceptance or rejection of this suffering, dying and rising Messiah. The accusation of the murder of Jesus did not come into the foreground. But at a very early date proof from the Old Testament appeared in lists of proof-texts, and this source of controversy was bound to loom large in subsequent years.

The Jewish War of 66-70 A.D. and the revolt under Hadrian proved historically to be a turning point in the relations between Christianity and Judaism. The flight of the Christians to Pella made a separation between the destinies of the two movements. For the Church in the Diaspora the fall of Jerusalem meant a severing of the slender tie with the Jerusalem center. There was made evident here that cleavage implicit in Jesus' rejection of the Zealot method. The murderous slaughters by the Jews in Cyprus and Cyrenaica under Trajan only widened the cleavage. When the Jews accepted Bar Cochba as the Messiah under the urging of Akiba, then there remained no longer any place for their acceptance of Jesus as Messiah.

The Jewish-Christians had felt that they

could hold on to the Law, and James and the Jerusalem church had remained under the very shadow of the Temple until the murder of James in 62 by official action under Ananus. The years between 70 and 135 A.D. appear to have been critical years for these Jewish-Christians,¹ for the rabbinical leaders took action to cast them out of the Jewish fellowship. The Birkath-ha-Minim, as it is called, or malediction against those Jewish-Christians was inserted in the Eighteen Benedictions, and of course the presence of such in the synagogue would be detected since they could not utter it. The leaders also insisted that a certain blessing referring to the kingdom should be spoken with a loud voice lest secret Christians should interpose their own qualifications under their breath.² These measures would isolate and drive out the Jewish-Christian brethren.

Parkes dates the letters and apostles sent out to the Diaspora with warnings about the Christians, at the end of the first century. We cannot be sure of the content of the message sent to the scattered Jewish communities, for what we have is a reconstruction from later references. Justin Martyr (Dial. 17) says to Trypho: "you selected and sent out from Jerusalem chosen men through all the land to tell that the godless heresy of the Christians had sprung up, and to publish those things which all they who know us not speak against us—you displayed great zeal in publishing throughout all the land bitter and dark and unjust things against the only blameless and righteous Light sent by God." And again (108), "you have sent chosen and ordained men throughout all the world to proclaim that a godless and lawless heresy had sprung from one Jesus, a Galilean deceiver, whom we crucified, but his disciples stole him by night from the tomb, where he was laid when unfastened from the cross, and now deceive

men by asserting that he has risen from the dead and ascended to heaven." Thus we have evidence of Judaism as distinctly conscious that Christianity was heretical, and therefore was to be condemned. Relations would not be improved if after the destruction of Jerusalem the Jewish-Christians betrayed Jews to the Roman authorities, as we are told.

Thus the wars with Rome made clear the cleavage, for the Jew considered loyalty to the Law as equivalent to loyalty to the nation, while the Christians were willing to remain aloof from the fate of the nation in a new and universal religious pattern and loyalty.

The literature of the New Testament written after 70 A.D. reflects clearly this growing cleavage. Matthew's Gospel shows a heightening of anti-Jewish feeling. The Book of Revelation speaks of "the blasphemy of them that say they are Jews, and they are not, but are a synagogue of Satan" (2:9, cf. 3:9). It is hard to imagine a stronger repudiation of any values in Judaism. The Fourth Gospel of course must be cited for this lumping of the Jews into a hopeless mass of obstinate rejections. The Jews in this Gospel appear as the "official opposition to Christ" (Macgregor), and we miss the differentiation into classes and groups such as we find in the earlier Gospels. Here the Jews and their rejection stand out as a dark foil to the ministry of Jesus. They refuse his message and they seek to injure his person. There are slight suggestions of a favorable response (8:31; 10:21), but shortly after Jesus addresses those Jews who believed, he calls them sons of their father, the devil (8:44). In a sense the Fourth Gospel is an answer to their maligning accusations and misrepresentations, for the author presents Jesus as one who came to his cross by no tragic accident, as they had probably averred, but by a majestic self-determination (Macgregor). The questions asked of Jesus in the Gospel are such as would come out of bitter conversations be-

¹ *The Conflict of the Church and Synagogue*, by James Parkes, 1934, P. 77.

² *The Jew and Christianity*, by Herbert Danby, 1927, p. 12.

tween Jews and Christians: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" (6:52), or "Art thou greater than our father Abraham?" (8:53), or "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" (7:15).

Outside of the New Testament the evidence for this period bearing on Christian attitudes toward the Jews is spotty. A superficial scanning of *Clement of Rome* and the *Didache* reveals no direct reference to contemporary Jews and their opposition. When Clement did refer to the persecution of righteous men by the "lawless" (45), he drew his examples from the Old Testament. Clement referred to the sufferings of the "champions" in his own time (5), but their persecution was not explicitly laid to the charge of the Jews as Clement might easily have done.

Even the references in *Ignatius* are scant. But they are sharp and strong for a clear demarcation from Judaism. To the Magnesians he wrote (10), "It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism." "For if even unto this day we live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace—" (8). To him the issue was clear. He would put the Philadelphians on their guard against any reversion to Judaism (6): "—if any one propound Judaism unto you, hear him not: for it is better to hear Christianity from a man who is circumcised than Judaism from one uncircumcised." He regarded these pleaders for Judaism as "tombstones and graves of the dead"—meaning, we suppose, that Judaism was utterly devoid of life.

Meanwhile the general condition of the Jews in the empire was tragic—thousands in captivity, heavy-handed punishment meted out by Rome for the persistent rebellion and slaughter of Gentiles, Rome's permanent exclusion of the Jews from Aelia Capitolina, and Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision. Of course, as Radin has observed, in Asia Minor the Jews appear to have remained in

comparative peace, and were spared the struggles of Jews elsewhere.⁸ Possibly here Judaism adjusted herself by compromise and relaxing of legal requirement, and so avoided some sources of irritation. But in Rome about this time Tacitus bitterly assailed them as "that disgusting race," given to "superstition," even consecrating "the figure of an ass in their inner shrine," and Juvenal attacked them as clannish and exclusive.

III. *Development of the Christian Attitude Toward the Jew.*

When at length Christianity and Judaism stood off from one another, their mutual attitudes were of course conditioned by all that had transpired while they were still held together in the bonds of a common life and tradition. In fact, one might say that what transpired and developed in the earlier stage was largely determinative of the later relationship.

For example, one of the earliest efforts of the Christian group was to show that Christ and the new movement had roots in the Old Testament. The use of proof-texts is evident at many points in the literature of the New Testament, especially in Matthew. The same combinations of texts recur. Akin to this usage of the Old Testament are the speeches of Stephen and Paul. Stephen would show that the Jews from the first had rejected the Spirit of God. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia traced God's counsel from Jesus back to the original choice of the nation. These two lines, proving Christ as predicted in the Old Testament, and the rejection of the Jews as already evident in the Old Testament, are carried forward in the later period.

Thus the *Epistle of Barnabas* finds anticipations and prophecies of Jesus in the Old Testament. By a remarkable juggling of Scripture the author finds the name of Jesus and the sign of the Cross in the three hundred and eighteen souls whom Abraham led forth (9), and even the gall and vinegar of the crucifixion are prefigured in the Levitical "entrails unwashed by vinegar." The *Epistle*

⁸ *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, Pp. 348-349.

of Barnabas also demonstrates that the Jews never did observe the Law acceptably, and so they were not found worthy to receive the covenant. The author therefore insists that Christians cannot share the covenant with the Jews: "Ours it is; but they lost it in this way forever—" (4). This line of reasoning or prejudice means that Christians are appropriating the Old Testament as their proof-text field and are turning its "ammunition" on the Jews to prove them renegade.

Look at Justin Martyr and his *Dialogue with Trypho* for a fantastic use of the Old Testament that takes the ground from under the feet of the Jews and the promise out of their hands. Justin reinterprets the whole tradition to fit the story of Christ. Trypho is of course understood to be a Jew who intersperses his questions or objections from time to time. Justin frankly declares that righteousness cannot come by law, it can come only by conversion in Christ. He frankly recognizes therefore that it is the non-observance of the Law by the Christians to which the Jews object. Trypho defines the keeping of the Law in external terms: "To keep the Sabbath, to be circumcised, to observe months, and to be washed if you touch anything prohibited by Moses, or after sexual intercourse" (46). When asked about Christians who also observed the Law, Justin concedes that they "shall probably be saved." But actually the Law was given for the sins of the Jews, and if there was no need of law and circumcision before Abraham, no more is there need now.

Justin would demonstrate to Trypho that all the Old Testament speaks of Christ and his church. Even the bells on the priest's robe were a figure of the apostles. Of course he appeals to the Isaiah 7:14 passage, "A virgin shall conceive," and also to Psalm 96:10, "The Lord reigneth from a tree (wood)." It is interesting to see that Trypho insists that the passage in Isaiah referred to Hezekiah and should be translated, "A young woman shall conceive." In fact they

find that the Septuagint stands between them. (We should note at this point that this strained use of the Septuagint by Christians to prove Christ in the Old Testament must have been a decisive factor in Jewish replacement of the Septuagint by other translations. The Christians had taken their Bible out of their hands.)

Justin Martyr asserts that the Christians are the true Israel, and he would include in this group the righteous men before Moses. But the Jews are accursed, wrote Justin; they cannot, because of their wickedness, discern the wisdom of their own Scriptures—in fact, they have lost their Scriptures to the Christians since they cannot catch the spirit in them. And their mark of circumcision is a sign or mark for their suffering: "Circumcision—was given for a sign; that you may be separated from other nations and from us; and that you alone may suffer that which you now justly suffer; and that your land may be desolate and your cities burned with fire; and that strangers may eat your fruit in your presence, and not one of you may go up to Jerusalem—these things have happened to you in fairness and justice, for you have slain the Just One, and His prophets before Him; and now you reject those who hope in Him—" (16). Justin appears almost to gloat over the misfortunes of the Jews.

Justin's hatred of the Jews flares up in strong epithets (16). It was caused by Jewish rejection of Jesus and the killing of Jesus, and perhaps by some unrecorded acts of persecution on the part of the Jews. He says, "You have not the power to lay hands upon us, on account of those who now have the mastery. But as often as you could, you did so" (16). However, toward the close of the *Dialogue* he says that the Christians pray for the Jews.

It is hard to judge of the Jewish reaction to such an attitude, for our knowledge comes through a Christian writer. Justin wrote of the false tales which the Jews circulated about Jesus. Apparently the Jewish

leaders had enjoined their people from any contact with Christian teachers; Trypho says, "It were good for us if we obeyed our teachers, who laid down a law that we should have no intercourse with any of you, and that we should not have even any communication with you on these questions" (38). In the next section Justin says, "It is not surprising that you (Jews) hate us who hold these opinions, and convict you of a continual hardness of heart."

The evidence from Justin, so far as it may be representative of the Church at large, shows the development of the Old Testament proof-text method turned against the Jews, and its extreme perversion in taking the Old Testament from the Jews at the very time when they needed it most. Justin bears down upon Jewish suffering and desolation, saying that circumcision was to this end and that their suffering was prophesied in advance and was deserved when it came.

In the *Letter of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp* which must have been written shortly after the death of Polycarp in 156, we have references to the Jews in the mob that was crying for his destruction. The faggots for the fire were collected by the mob, "the Jews more especially assisting in this with zeal, as is their wont" (13). Then afterward the Jews instigated the plea not to give Polycarp's body for Christian burial. "The centurion therefore, seeing the opposition raised on the part of the Jews, set him in the midst and burnt him after their custom" (18).

The question arises, What part did the Jews have in the persecution of the Christians? Justin said that the Jews had laid

hands on the Christians as often as they had a chance, and in the First Apology (31) he refers to Jewish persecution under Bar Cochba: "in the Jewish war which lately raged, Barchochebas, the leader of the revolt of the Jews gave orders that Christians alone should be led to cruel punishments, unless they would deny Jesus Christ and utter blasphemy." An anonymous source is quoted for the statement that Montanists should not be considered Christians because they had not had the experience of being whipped in the synagogues of the Jews.⁴ How far then shall we credit the active rôle in persecution to the Jews, and to what extent is the Christian hatred of the Jew in the second century due to such persecuting zeal? James Parkes has found that in the *Acta* from the first century a very large proportion of the stories ascribe hostility to the Jews, and he lists thirty-five martyrdoms ascribed to Jews. But from the beginning of the second century on, there is almost complete silence on Jewish responsibility for the fate of Christian martyrs. If this silence can be trusted, Christian frenzy against the Jew on this score was living on energy borrowed largely from an earlier time. Of course the memory of persecution stays very fresh, and the Jews would still be thought of as those who killed Jesus and the prophets, and had part in early persecution. Doubtless here and there such persecution would arise wherein Jews might be in the majority, as in the Bar Cochba revolt. But we lack clear evidence of general participation by the Jews in second-century persecution. By this time Christians are out of the synagogue and out of the power of the synagogue to administer punishment. They have taken a normal share in local mob action against Christians.

Irenaeus was too busy with contemporary heresies to give much attention to the Jews. But he had some discussions with Jews directly or indirectly, and he was aware that Theodotion and Aquila had changed Isaiah 7:14 from "A virgin shall conceive" to "A young woman shall conceive." To save this

⁴ *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, by James Parkes, 1934. P. 126 from Eusebius Church History V.XVI. 12: "Who is there, O friends, of these who began to talk, from Montanus and the women down, that was persecuted by the Jews, or slain by lawless men? None. Or has any of them been seized and crucified for the name? Truly not. Or has one of these women ever been scourged in the synagogues of the Jews, or stoned? No; never anywhere."

proof-text of the virgin birth he defended the origin and inspiration of the Septuagint, and declared that God "has preserved to us the unadulterated Scriptures in Egypt" (III.XXI.3). He branded those new translators, "both Jewish proselytes," as "impudent and presumptuous, who would now show a desire to make different translations, when we refute them out of these Scriptures, and shut them up to a belief in the advent of the Son of God."

Apparently the Jews and Ebionites had argued for a natural birth, using the other translations of Isaiah 7:14, and the genealogies through Joseph. His counter-argument re-emphasized the "sign" of Isaiah 7:14, called attention to the promise in the Psalms that God would raise up from the fruit of David's belly the horn of Christ the King, and drew the parallel from Adam's generation from dust to Christ's birth from a virgin. Of course this was another case where Christians had taken over the Jewish Scriptures and made them serve their purpose. Irenaeus recognized what had happened: "They (the Jews) indeed, had they been cognizant of our future existence, and that we should use these proofs from the Scriptures, would themselves never have hesitated to burn their own Scriptures, which do declare that all other nations partake of eternal life, and show that they who boast themselves as being the house of Jacob and the people of Israel, are disinherited from the grace of God" (III.XXI.1). Such words are the fruit and seed of schism!

The first great Latin Father, Tertullian, with characteristic vigor took up the cudgels with all opponents of the faith, and the Jews did not escape. *An Answer to the Jews* was Tertullian's contribution to a debate between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte, and in it he demonstrates the hopeless condition of the Jews and the solid foundation of Christianity in the Old Testament. He interprets the Old Testament in his own way, but he insists that heretics have no right to appeal to such Scripture because they cannot use it

aright (*Against Heretics XV*). So he finds Christ in the Old Testament, his birth by the Septuagint form of Isaiah 7:14, his name from Joshua, the passion and wood and nails and cross all in the Old Testament. As for the Mosaic Law in the Old Testament, the Law was given in embryo to Adam, and by it the great men such as Enoch were justified, even though they had no Sabbath or circumcision. Jewish ordinances such as Sabbath, circumcision, and sacrifice were temporary. The eternal Sabbath, the spiritual circumcision and sacrifice belong to the Christians. Both prophecy and the sign of circumcision looked forward to the destruction of Jerusalem and the desolation of the land. The words of Tertullian would sound harsh and bitter in the ears of the Jews: "For circumcision had to be given; but as a 'sign,' whence Israel in the last time would have to be distinguished, when, in accordance with their deserts, they should be prohibited from entering the holy city—" (*An Answer to the Jews*—3). Elsewhere Tertullian declared that on Christ's account these things happened to the Jews because they failed to recognize Christ and because they "despised and slew Him." Such broadcasts would not pour oil on troubled waters, much less win Jewish converts to the faith!

Hippolytus at the beginning of the third century included the Jews and their sects in his *Refutation of All Heresies*, but his refutation almost turns into a eulogy of the Essenes. His is essentially a book-knowledge of Judaism, and he recommends the use of the "book" for those who would understand the system of Jewish sacrifices. He appears to be indebted to Josephus' account of the parties in Judaism. He betrays no animosity to contemporary Jews in his *Refutation*, although he says, "they are ashamed to confess that He has come, since they have with their own hands put Him to death, because they were stung with indignation in being convicted by the Lord Himself of not having obeyed the laws" (IX.XXV). The Jews look for another Messiah, "his generation

will be derived from the stock of David, but not from a virgin and the Holy Spirit—." In his exegetical work Hippolytus, like his predecessors, takes over the Jewish Old Testament, and by a wonderful use of allegory finds Christ and the church even in Genesis. We can only imagine how the Jew would react to this appropriation of his Scriptures.

With a remarkable change of spirit Hippolytus wrote these words in his treatise against the Jews (1, 5): "Hear my words, and give heed, thou Jew. Many a time dost thou boast thyself, in that thou didst condemn Jesus of Nazareth to death, and didst give Him vinegar and gall to drink; and thou dost vaunt thyself because of this. Come therefore, and let us consider together whethe that small portion of vinegar and gall has not brought down this fearful threatening upon thee, and whether this is not the cause of thy present condition involved in these myriad troubles. Listen with understanding, O Jew, to what the Christ says: 'They gave me gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.' And these things He did indeed endure from you." So Hippolytus turned this gesture of kindness to a crucified one into a weapon of offense. In a similar vein he linked the blindfolding of Jesus eyes to their condemnation to blindness and stumbling; and because they had beaten and wounded Jesus, they should have their recompense in perpetual servitude for themselves and desolation for their Temple.

Origen in his treatise against Celsus first defends the antiquity of the Jews, for Celsus had questioned both the antiquity and learning of the Jews, casting discredit on Moses' account of the Creation and deriding circumcision as having its origin from the Egyptians. Origen takes up the defence of

the Jews against the charge of being barbarous and lacking in antiquity. The strategy here lies in the fact that his defence of Jewish origins is also a defence of Christian origins. Then Origen takes up the objections of Celsus' hypothetical Jew. (Origen doubts his Jewishness and thinks he talks like a Greek. We cannot therefore be sure that he represents the Jews of the opening of the third century. He may be the stooge of Celsus, but he may draw his arguments from the Jews.) This Jew accuses Jesus "of having invented his birth from a virgin," and then pours out what purports to be the Jewish account of Jesus' origin, that he was "born in a certain village, of a poor woman of the country, who gained her subsistence by spinning, and who was turned out of doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was convicted of adultery; that after being driven away by her husband, and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself God" (I.XXVIII). A little later in the conversation he identifies Jesus' father as "a certain soldier named Panthera." There were other accusations: that he did miracles by devil magic, that his career was a disappointment in that he won only ten sailors and tax-gatherers, that Jesus tried to escape by concealing himself. Such slanderous stories and accusations coming from the Jews would inflame the Christian attitude to hot hatred.⁵

Origen supports the virgin birth by frank reference to the Septuagint of Isaiah 7:14 (34). When Origen appeals to prophecy as the strongest evidence, his Jewish friends remind him that the same passages can be taken another way,⁶ and they say that Isaiah 53 in particular applies not to one person but to the nation. In fact the arguments of

⁵ *Against Celsus*, II.XXIX—"their bitter animosity, and baseless and even improbable calumnies against Jesus."

⁶ *Ibid.* II.XXVIII. The Jews assert that the prophecies agree with ten thousand other things more credibly than with Jesus.

the Jews through Celsus and Origen are often found to be incisive and to the point, and Origen does not always have the complete answer for them. Apparently Origen had on a number of occasions held disputations with Jewish leaders. He says it was prejudice that prevented the Jew from seeing the argument from prophecy!

Origen admits that the Jewish nation had once enjoyed the favor of God and had lived under a "venerable and distinguished polity," and had attained to a high ethical development. But by their crime against the Saviour of the human race they had been condemned to suffering and dispersion. Jesus' prediction of their tragedy was proof of his divine standing. Not that Jesus came to produce their incredulity, but that their unbelief served its purpose in the calling of the Gentiles! So the Jewish people are altogether abandoned of God by any evidence of divine favor, and they are without hope of restoration. The calamities and exile of this "most wicked nation" was the due punishment of their sin against Jesus, and Origen gloats over them. As for the Christians—"this economy of things and this divine favor were transferred to us."

Cyprian's *Three Books of Testimonies* for Quirinius have received the title, "*Testimonies against the Jews*." They are an extreme development of the use of proof-texts from the Old Testament to fortify Christian teaching. It is interesting to note that here texts from the New Testament stand side by side with Old Testament references. Book I alone would have any reference to the Jewish mind, and if Jewish eyes ever saw the treatise they would find a bewildering jumble of texts. Such a Jewish reader would realize how completely the Christians had taken over the Septuagint for their own purposes.

Jewish rejection of the Christ, and the desolation of land and people are demonstrated in prophecy not only from the Old Testament but also from the words of Jesus. It is worthy of mention that Cyprian held

out one ray of hope for the Jews in understanding the Scriptures at the second coming. He derived the idea from Paul whose hope for Jewish reclamation had been all but lost through these years of hopeless condemnation of the Jews. But Cyprian's mind was too much concerned with problems of the Church in relation to Roman persecution, to give much attention to the improvement of Jewish-Christian relations.

The little *Epistle to Diognetus* is variously attributed and is dated somewhere in the third century. The author would explain the religion of the Christians, and therefore he must show why and how they differ from the Jews. But he feels that Jewish use of sacrifice is not different from Greek idolatry, for whereas the Greeks offer to a deaf image, the Jews offer to One who is in need of nothing. To the author it is folly and not religious worship. And all the Jewish scruples as to meats and sabbaths and circumcision are to the author of the *Epistle* "ridiculous and unworthy of consideration." So the Christians hold "aloof from the common silliness and error of the Jews and from their excessive fussiness and pride—" (4). Of course, as we can see, this is not argument but ridicule, and in such a spirit there can be no common bond of understanding.

Eusebius on his part treated the Jewish Law as temporary and of slight importance, as James Parkes has pointed out. Eusebius' argument (*Church History* I.IV) is as follows: the new nation of Christians is not new at all, but its life, conduct, and doctrines run back to "the natural understanding of divinely favored men of old," these ancient men who comprised the Hebrew nation which was on the scene before the Law and the Jews with their mark of circumcision. From Adam to Abraham these ancient men were Christians, showing their Christianity in their righteous conduct apart from law and without circumcision. The Christ of God appeared and talked to these worthies. Is it not said, "Abraham believed

in God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness?" "That very religion of Abraham has reappeared at the present time, practised in deeds—by Christians alone throughout the world." Of course, such a line of thought practically ignores the rich achievement of Judaism, and takes over as its own the heroes of the Jewish faith.

This opposition to the Jews and Judaism is largely theological and exegetical, and the animus is mainly derived from Jewish rejection and killing of Jesus in the first century. The argument appears to have been a matter of self-justification, both for the Christian position and for the Christian failure to win the Jews.

Was there any irritation from the side of the Jews? Of course the fact that they remained Jews was a standing irritation to the Christian mind. Did the Jews have any share in the persecutions of the Christians in the third century? The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* declares that "War is waged against them (Christians) as aliens by the Jews—" (5). How true is this generalization? Was it a war of words? Pionius was a martyr of the Decian persecution. The crowd that demanded his death included Jews, and he addressed them thus: "I say this to you Jews who dissolve in laughter and mockery at those who voluntarily or involuntarily sacrifice, and who laugh at us also and shout insultingly that we have been given too much license, I say to you that if we are enemies, we are also men."⁷ A few other instances of Jewish persecution in the third century might be given, but they are scattered. The hostility on the part of Jews was expressed in words if not in outward acts. The Jews, naturally clever with invective, called the Gospels "revelation of sin." The slanderous stories of Jesus' illegitimacy, his foreign origin, his sorcery, his deserved

death were probably in circulation among the Jews in this time. To such wild tales the Christian reaction would be immediate and in kind. Some of the Christian retorts indicate a harping objection on the part of the Jews to Christian doctrine: Jesus' birth, genealogy, identity, miracles, death, and resurrection. We can be sure that the Jews would counter the Christian use of the Old Testament with their own interpretation. All such counter-argument and slander would make understandable Tertullian's remark that the synagogue was "the seed-plot of all calumny against us (Christians)."

But life goes on, and in spite of this hostility there were living contacts between Jews and Christians. The scholars went to the Jews for knowledge of the Hebrew language and for Jewish interpretation. Eusebius pays tribute to the keen insight of Jewish Biblical scholars. It is also to be remembered that the common people lived in the same communities—the ghetto was of the future, and there is evidence of common friendliness between Jew and Christian. The decisions of the early Church councils indicate the problem which arose in keeping the two groups separate: no intermarriage between Jews and Christian girls, no Christian to accept Jewish hospitality, no Christian to receive unleavened bread from a Jewish feast, no Christian to feast with them, no Christian to let his field to be blessed by the Jews. Life in the third and fourth centuries was broader than ecclesiastical or theological exclusiveness.

We have sketched the attitude of Christianity to Judaism during the period when both were subject to Rome. However, when Christianity was recognized as the State religion, another factor was added to the picture. The story from this point would go on to show how Christian prejudice came to be enacted into legal statute against the Jews. It has been sufficient here to show the rise of this attitude in the first three centuries.

⁷ Quoted by James Parkes in *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, Pp. 137-138.

Early Jewish Attitudes Toward Jesus, Christians, and Christianity

G. GEORGE FOX

IN THE beginning there was little feeling against Jesus and those who regarded him as the Messiah. The early Jewish communities divided themselves into two parties; those who believed that the Messiah had come, and those who did not. There was less difference between these two segments of Jewry than there is between modern Orthodox and Reform Jews. It was only when Christianity began to spread among the Gentiles, that general attitudes began to be created on both sides. But as a rule, Jewish first-century literature has no evidence of anti-Jesus or anti-Christian feeling or partisanship. So argues Canon Herbert Danby, in his *The Jew and Christianity*, in the chapter on "The First Christian Century," and other scholars agree.

This freedom from partisanship is not characteristic of the New Testament; for instance, most people get their knowledge of the Pharisees and the general attitude of Jesus from this source. If they would look further, they would be surprised to find that not all Pharisees were like those mentioned in the gospels; they would find that Pharisaic Judaism, which was the only Judaism that survived the destruction of the Temple and that carried on the living Jewish tradition did condemn insincere Pharisees. There were Pharisees who were themselves critical of others who called themselves Pharisees, and I quote a passage which I am sure must not have been known to many. It is from an old first or second century *baraita*—a collection that is contemporary with the Mishna but not included in it by Jehudah Ha-Nasi, its compiler. It enumerates seven classes of Pharisees, of

which five are either fools or hypocrites. There is the "shoulder Pharisee" who wears as it were, his good actions ostentatiously upon his shoulder; then there is "the wait-a-little" Pharisee who says "wait a little, until I have performed the good deed awaiting me;" then there is the "bruised Pharisee," who in order to avoid looking at a woman, runs against the wall so as to bruise himself and bleed; then there is the "pestle Pharisee" who walks with his head down like the pestle in the mortar; then the "ever-reckoning Pharisee" who says "let me know what good I can do to counteract my neglect." Then there is the "God-fearing Pharisee" after the manner of Job; and then the "God-loving Pharisee" after the manner of Abraham.¹

The attitude of the gospels, especially the fourth, towards the Jews, could not but have evoked from the Jews, if they read them or knew their contents, an unfriendly attitude. But as a matter of fact, unfriendliness is not found until the Nazarenes refused to coöperate with the Jews during the Judean war and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D., and later in the Bar Cochba revolution. The Christians or Nazarenes immediately after the death of Jesus, were of much less concern to the Jews than the troubles with both Rome and the pseudo-Messiahs. The troubles laid upon Judea after the death of Herod, the robbing and the desecration of the Temple; the appearance of pseudo-saviours like Anthronges, Ahba Sakkara, Judas the Galilean, Theudas, the Samaritan Messiah, John of Gischala, Eliezer the Zealot, Simon bar Giora and others, took the minds of the Jews off any individual who might have appeared earlier and did not succeed. There just was no time in the life of the Jews of

¹These, and the sources, are cited by Kohler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article, "Pharisees," Vol. 9, p. 661.

the days following the death of Jesus, to take note of him or his movement. Not until after the days of Bar Cochba—circa 131-5—when the Son of the Star, another pseudo-Messiah, appeared to be reconquering Palestine for the Jewish people, does any inimical feeling towards Christians officially come to the fore.²

It will be remembered that after the fall of Jerusalem in 70, the Nazarenes or Christians withdraw from the Jewish community and directed their missionary efforts very largely to the gentiles. There were Jewish Christians in Judea, and later Bar Cochba and his immediate followers were angry at these because of their refusal to help them. They were onlookers, who did not lift a finger to help their Jewish brethren, in what was regarded as a national war for survival. An old source, according to Graetz, relates that Bar Cochba demanded of the Christians that they deny the divinity of Jesus. Those who refused to do this, and to help against the Romans were punished with heavy penalties.³ But before this, there is no mention of any activities against the Christians. According to George Foot Moore, before the Roman war, "the disciples of Jesus the Nazarene had been a conventicle within the synagogue rather than a sect." Their peculiarity was the belief that the Messiah foretold in the Scriptures had appeared in the reign of Tiberius in the person of Jesus of Nazareth who had been executed by the procurator of Judea, Pontius Pilate, at the instance of the chief priests, as a prospective revolutionary, "The King of the Jews."⁴

²I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, p. 59.

³According to Justin, *Apol.* 1:31.

⁴*Judaism*, Vol. I, pp. 90-91.

⁵Euseb. *Ec. Hist.*, iv-5-6.

⁶G. F. Moore, *Ibid.*

⁷*The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, xviii.

⁸Abraham's *Annot. Prayer Book*, p. lxiv.

⁹So, Joel, *Blicke* 1:26, 29; Graetz, *Gesh.* iv, note 11; Elbogen, *Monats.* XLVI, 353, Abrahams *Studies*, 56.

Moore goes on to make an important statement which I think may be repeated here. "The Jews had no doctrine about the Messiah invested with the sanction of orthodoxy; and on the fundamental articles of Judaism, the unity of God, his peculiar relation to Israel, the revelation of his character, will and purpose in Scripture, the Nazarenes were as sound as any Jews could be." Two generations later, when the gentile growth of Christianity had generated anti-Jewish feelings, several rabbis did utter hostile utterances against it. But that was against those who refused to aid Bar Cochba. After the Bar Cochba war, Christianity became a gentile church;⁵ when it became a sect outside the synagogue, rabbinical invective subsided. "Later controversy was with the catholic Christians."⁶

The gospels, particularly the fourth, carried some pretty strong challenges to the Jews. The fourth gospel is frankly anti-Jewish. Yet, and I quote from James Parkes, one of the latest authorities in this field: "No literature has survived, and it is doubtful if any ever existed, in which Jews set in writing their replies to the challenges of the Christians. At most this or that paragraph of the Talmud may have been uttered with the Christian doctrine, and the reply to it, in the mind of the rabbi concerned."⁷

There is a tradition that the Hebrew prayer beginning with "Velamalshinim," "For the slanderers let there be no hope," written by Samuel the Younger for Gamaliel the Second somewhat earlier than 100, was directed against the anti-Nomians, those who rejected the Torah. So far as the prayer is concerned, the original form is not known to us.⁸ But every writer who has looked into the subject has concluded that the prayer has nothing to do with Christians in general, but is an imprecation against those Jews who neglected or rejected the Torah, among whom were the minim or sectarians who were still within the synagogue.⁹ So far as the reference to Bar

Cochba is concerned, it is almost the unanimous opinion of the newer historical writers of this period, such as Moore, Parkes, Danby and Abrahams, that the leaders of the Bar Cochba revolution were incensed at the attitude of the Christians for not helping the Jews, and punished them for this, as well as for rejecting the claims of Bar Cochba.

Perhaps we should say something about the first clash between Jews and Christians which resulted in the death of Stephen, because so many Christians assume that the martyrdom of Stephen indicated a widespread persecution of the Christians by Jews. The death of Stephen was not the result of studied persecution by the Jewish authorities. It was the work of a mob that had been carried away with passion against one who differed with them. That was not uncommon. The Jews in those days were accustomed to have thousands of their brethren killed by Romans, and mobs and mob-killing were nothing new or novel. To assume from the death of Stephen that Jews persecuted Christians generally, is gratuitous and unhistorical. It is interesting to note how modern Christians thinkers, including Harnack, will soft-pedal or by-pass statements such as that of Acts 8:7, "for unclean spirits crying with loud voice, came out of many that were possessed, and many taken with palsies and that were lame, were healed," while they will put complete historical authority on statements similar to that in Acts 8, 1: "And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem." We have no more extra-N. T. evidence for one statement than for the other. We forget that in the days of Stephen and Paul, there were no Christians in the sense of later gentile-Christians; that at this time there were Jews who believed that the Messiah is yet to come, and there were some who believed that he had come—but all were normal Jews in every other respect. Stephen was killed in a street brawl—not by a propagandized crowd.

It is agreed by late writers that the appearance of Jesus, and his death, were not important enough in the eyes of the community suffering from the injustices and terrors of Roman persecution, to assume proportions of major interest. The real fight between Jews and Christians hardly began to develop until after the destruction of Jerusalem; and as stated, the bitterness between the two sects which resulted in action against Christians by Bar Cochba was not only because of a difference in theology, but because of disloyalty to Eretz Yisrael, to Judea and the Torah. Later references to the persecution of the Christians by the Jews are on more or less flimsy historical grounds. One should read carefully the latest and best work on this subject, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, by Dr. James Parkes, not a Jew.

The story that Jews were responsible for persecutions of the early Christians has become a part of the stock of common knowledge of the modern church historian and theologian and has been accepted without critical investigation. These persecution accusations and stories are contained in collections called *Acta*, the most popular of which is the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. This collection of martyrologies also contains collections of earlier hagiologies. The search for historical accuracy was not one of the objectives of the early hagiologists. The Bollandists who edited and collected these texts since the early part of the seventeenth century, were not lovers of Jews or Judaism. As good Jesuits it was their duty to record the life-story of the saints, and if in these stories, Jews were made to play a sinister part, who were they to attempt to find the truth! Indeed in most cases the truth could not be found, as the stories they collected rested on imagination, suspicion and hate.

In these collections of the *Acta* are many stories that now are known to be unhistorical. Some have been pronounced as "entirely fabulous novelettes produced in some

monastic centre, based upon a local legend, possibly of pagan origin, or due simply to the ingenuity of the writer."¹⁰ It is easy to see how imaginative clerical minds would weave fine stories of persecution around incidents in the New Testament, in which some of the early Christian characters would be the heroes and the martyrs, and the Jews the villains and the persecutors. And with these as a foundation, what is to keep an alert, imaginative, energetic Jew-hating priest from manufacturing a few more stories of Jewish persecution? In nearly all of the accounts of the martyrdoms of the early Christian centuries, Jews were in some way involved, historical basis or no historical basis.

Harnack is the worst offender in accepting the historicity of these accounts. He sinned not only in not trying to establish their historical basis, but in that he became the most prolific source of the spread of the untruths. The men of today who are so sure of their contentions about the early persecutions of the Christians by the Jews are those who read and who remember his *Mission and Expansion of Christianity* with particular reference to Vol. I, pp. 58ff. It was not only the Christian students who put so much stock in Harnack. Some of us Jews were also influenced, but we had the advantage of having Graetz, Joel, Abrahams, Klausner, Zunz, Ellbogen, Montefiore, and later Herford, Moore, Danby and Parkes.

A word more about Harnack: In the work mentioned, he states: "The hostility of the Jews appears on every page of Acts from chapter thirteen upwards. They tried to hamper every step of the Apostles' work among the Gentiles; they stirred up the masses and authorities in every country against them; systematically and officially they scattered broadcast horrible charges against the Christians, which played an im-

portant part in the persecutions as early as the reign of Trajan; they started calumnies against Jesus; they provided heathen opponents of Christianity with literary ammunition; unless the evidence is misleading, they instigated the Neronian outburst against the Christians and as a rule wherever bloody persecutions are afoot in later days, the Jews are either in the background or in the foreground."

The evidence, which must have been pretty shaky to Harnack, or he would never have inserted the clause, "*unless the evidence is misleading*," showing doubt in his own mind, is based upon statements in Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius and less well-known church fathers. These did not bother to authenticate their stories; they had neither the historical sense, nor the historical interest to do so. But Harnack should not have taken their simple words as historical truths. Thorough investigation of these writings, such as has been made by recent scholars, would have brought him to the same conclusions. But Harnack cared less for the truth in some cases than he did for his own prejudices. Harnack must have been conscious of the harm that he did, though he no doubt did not know that the fruit of his work would contribute to the Nazi theory of race inferiority.

The reasons for the accusations of persecution by the Jews in Harnack, LeClerq¹¹ and Allard,¹² are the allusions scattered through the aforementioned patristic sources. These statements themselves have never been proved to have had historical foundations. In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, in which by the way, he misquotes an O. T. verse, Justin¹³ says "for you have not the power to lay hands upon us on account of those who now have the mastery. But often as you could, you did so." And he quotes a passage from Isaiah to show that God rebuked the Hebrews. It is clear that Justin has in mind Old and New Testament passages in the gospels and in Pauline and pseudo-Pauline literature. The same mis-

¹⁰Parkes, *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹¹*Les Martyrs*.

¹²*Histoire des Persecutions de première Siecle*.

¹³*Trypho*, 16.

information occurs in the statement in his First Apology (XXXI), addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his son: "And like yourselves, they (the Jews) kill and punish us whenever they have the power, as you can well believe. For in the Jewish war which lately raged, Bar Cochbas, the leader of the revolt of the Jews gave orders that Christians alone should be led to cruel punishments unless they would deny Jesus Christ and utter blasphemy." The punishment as stated, was directed against those who would not regard Bar Cochba as the savior, even though the revered leader Rabbi Akiba did. As in the first Roman war, it was a fight to the death between Judea and Rome, and all who stood in the way of one or the other were marked. This is hardly the meaning of Justin's statement. Origen, in his "On Psalm 36," says: "The Jews do not vent their wrath on the gentiles who worship idols and blaspheme God, and they neither hate them nor rage against them; but against the Christians they rage with insatiable fury." Origen lived between 185 and 253, and for many years, around and in Palestine. He certainly saw very few Christians persecuted by Jews in that part of the world, where the Jews lived in abject fear; where they had to attend strictly to their own business even in the Jewish centres; and where they dared not organize in any way that would bring about the results that Origen mentions, because of fear of Roman authorities. There is certainly no mention anywhere that the Jews in Parthia, in Rome or in Syria persecuted the Christians, or in Asia Minor, unless provoked. Origen again evidently has in mind the Bible stories to which Harnack also later referred, and speaks of them in the same way as does Justin. Tertullian mentions the "synagogues as the sources of persecutions." It is another of those statements of the early church fathers which have been accepted as historical by early Christian writers, and repeated so often that they are regarded as

truths, except by late modern students. The historian Graetz¹⁴ puts it this way: "It is nowhere related that the Christians were compelled to recognize and believe in Bar Cochba as the new Christ. Such compulsion seems to have been foreign to the new Jewish state. Later Christian chroniclers, in their usual manner, have greatly exaggerated the floggings to which the Jewish Christians were subjected, until they assumed the proportions of actual persecutions accompanied by death and martyrdom, for which there is no historical basis!"

Let me cite a few such cases—it is not possible here to cite many—in which there was a common tradition of Jewish responsibility in the persecution of Christians, but no exact knowledge of the actual historical facts.

Agabus, referred to in Acts 21:10, was in one source killed by Jews in Jerusalem, and in another source, he was killed by Jews and Greeks, at a place unmentioned, with another preacher. Ananias, bishop of Damascus, in one place was stoned by the governor at Eleutheropolis. In another, he was stoned at Damascus by Jews. Andrew the apostle was executed by Herod in Bethlehem in one account, in another he was killed by heathen priests at Patras. Aristobulus, the brother of Barnabas, suffered much at the hands of Jews and Greeks, and was finally stoned by them, in one story; in another he died in peace, while still another has it that he became a bishop in Britain and died there.

Joseph of Arimathea was immured in prison by the Jews and left to die; he was found forty years later in perfect health by Titus, on the capture of Jerusalem. In another account, he was released by Christ himself and continued preaching; in a third account there is the story of the Jews who tried to poison him. Nicodemus was much persecuted by the Jews, but finally died in peace and was buried with Stephen and Gamaliel.

One would expect agreement on the story

¹⁴Vol. II, xv.

of James, the brother of John. But of him, there are three separate accounts. In one, he was stoned by the Roman governor for an accusation that he preached "another king." In another, the scribe who accused him was afterward converted by him, and both were killed; in still another, it tells that he was killed entirely by Jews.

Under the heading, "Martyrdoms of the First Century Ascribed to Jews," Parkes has a detailed list of names and the sources of the alleged stories of persecutions. A glance, at those pages will show anyone with an appreciation of historical evidence, the transparency of the allegations of Jewish persecutions of Christians during the first century of Christianity's history.

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna was martyred in 155. The story is related in the Apostolic Fathers. There are other sources that state that Polycarp disputed much with Jews and even brought some to the faith; but nowhere is there any evidence that he was killed by Jews. He was betrayed by a fellow-Christian under torture; he was examined and condemned to be burnt. The story in the Apostolic Fathers relates that "the whole multitude, both of the heathen and the Jews who lived in Smyrna cried out with uncontrollable fury: This is the teacher of Asia—the father of the Christians and the overthrower of our gods who has been teaching many not to sacrifice or to worship the gods."¹⁵ But it was not the Jews who betrayed him. The Jews, it says, began to assist the others in collecting wood for the fire. Polycarp was placed upon the fagots but they refused to burn. As he was not burned, a soldier seized him and killed him. The Christians wished to take the body, but the Jews persuaded the father of the Roman official in charge to give it up. The centurion, "seeing the strife created by the

Jews," put the body on the pyre and it was consumed.¹⁶

It is universally conceded that Polycarp was martyred on a Saturday. Aside from the fact that Jews are not actually said to have taken a part in the martyrdom, it is very unlikely that they would have taken any part in it on the Sabbath, or collected wood on the Sabbath, or taken any part in the actual burning on the Sabbath. What was more likely, is that there were Jews among the other people at Smyrna who had gathered to see the burning of a human being. But this is hardly historical evidence of their taking part in the persecution, unless arguing with him is called persecution.

Parkes sums up his chapter on "The Part Played by Jews in the Persecutions," in the following words: "The universal, tenacious and malicious hatred referred to by Harnack, Allard, Corluy and others, has no existence in historical fact. The generalizations of patristic writers quoted in support of the accusations have been wrongly interpreted. The evidence that the Jews took no great part in the persecutions of the second, third and fourth centuries comes not from Jewish sources, nor from inference, nor from later generalizations, but from the masses of contemporary lives of those very martyrs, themselves, whose deaths are in question."¹⁷

This is the real nature of the evidence that we have of the persecutions of Christians by Jews, based on the literature of the first and second-century Christian writers. Let us now look at a literature that is both contemporary, and extends to the close of the Amoraic period, c. 500 after the Christian era. This source offers statements that deal largely with the life of Jesus as reconstructed by Talmudic teachers who projected his life backward, and built it around stories that inevitably grew up in unfriendly surroundings. We have few references to him, and these have little historical value because they are the polemics of unfriendly partisans rather than dispassionate accounts

¹⁵Wake and Burton, *Apos. Fathers*, Vol. II, p. 162.

¹⁶*Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. I, Jan. 26 and Feb. 23.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 150.

of real value, but they fall within the range of our subject.

In the Jewish literature contemporary with Jesus, there is no reference to him because he played no particular rôle in the life of Jewry of his days. The Jews were so busy with their troubles with Rome, as has been said, and the fears and persecutions that beset them, that the crucifixion of one, more or less, patriot and teacher did not receive any marked attention. The Talmud deals with stories about him that had become current years and centuries after his death, and they date not at all, with an occasional exception, from any time near his own. Another reason for the paucity of stories about Jesus and the events that transpired during and immediately after his life is that the Talmud has very little to say about events of the period of the Second Temple. A fine example of this kind of omission is the whole story of the Maccabean festival. Were it not for the Books of the Maccabees I and II and Josephus, we would have known hardly anything about the Maccabean struggle, not even the name of Judas Maccabeus. The references to Hanuccah, called the Feast of Lights, in the Talmud, deal with the lighting of the candles and the blessings to be recited in so doing.¹⁸

The attitude of the later Rabbis towards Jesus and Christianity can be seen from some of the following illustrations: Jesus was born not of the Holy Ghost or as the Hebrew has it, "Holy Spirit," but of an illegitimate union. The Talmud agrees that Jesus performed signs and wonders, but not through the Holy Spirit; he did it by magic or sorcery, not of God, either. The Talmud speaks of Jesus as a scoffer. This hardly conveys the meaning of "speaking as one having authority." It means to convey the thought that Jesus scoffed at the authority of the rabbis. He is called a sinner

in Israel, referring no doubt to statements like "not that which goeth into the mouth of a man defileth him;" holding in mind Lev. 11, in which the "defiling" animals are named, one can understand the reason for his being called a "sinner" against the Law.

The names used for Jesus in the few references that occur in the Talmud are Pandera, ben Stada, Ben Pandera, (the son of Pandera) and Yeshu Hanotzri. In Baraitas dating from the time of R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and R. Yishmael—from about the end of the first Christian century and the beginning of the second, we find the phrase ben Pandera or Ben Pantera. Origen mentions this name in a story that the heathen Celsus heard from a Jew.¹⁹ It stated that Miriam was divorced from her husband, a carpenter, because she was in shame, and bore in secret, Jesus the child, whose father was a soldier named Pantheras. Origen states²⁰ that Jacob, the father of Joseph and the grandfather of Jesus, was called Panther. It was therefore quite natural that Jesus should be called Ben Pantheras after his grandfather.

There is, of course, no historical basis for the assumption that a soldier whose name was Pandera was the father of Jesus, although Deissmann, in Noeldeke's *Festschrift*, proved that there were Roman soldiers whose name was Panthera. The reason for the statements that Jesus was an illegitimate child can be easily seen, but that does not prove the historicity of any relationship between a soldier by that name, and Mary. These stories do show the unfriendly attitude of Jews of the second century and later, to Jesus, and by inference to the religion of which he was the accepted messiah.

Another Baraita, Sanh. 107b, Sota 47b, states that "Yeshu Hanotzri (of Nazareth) practiced sorcery and beguiled and led Israel astray."

Another interesting Baraita (Sanh 43a) states: "On the eve of Passover, they hanged Yeshu (of Nazareth) and the herald went

¹⁸Shab. 21, Meg. Tan., 23, Meg. 11a.

¹⁹Con. Celsum, 32, 33.

²⁰Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, p. 39, Note 2.

before him for forty days saying, 'Yeshu is going forth to be stoned in that he practised sorcery and beguiled and led Israel astray. Let everyone knowing anything in his defense come and plead for him. But they found nothing in his defense, and 'hanged' him on the eve of Pesach.'" Following these remarks, Ulla, a teacher who lived in Palestine at the end of the third century said: "And do you suppose that for Yeshu there was any appeal? He was a beguiler . . . and he was near to civil authority," i. e. He was in trouble with the civil authorities.

Rabbi Meir calls the gospels the "aven-gillayon"—the literal translation of which is the "revelation of sin," or "falsehood of blank paper," a worthless roll or a book of idolatry or iniquity. A discussion is cited²¹ which turns upon the "sefarim chitzonim" the hidden or apocryphal and apocalyptic books. It is assumed, though not mentioned, that that phrase in the discussion, referred also to the Christian books. R. Meir says that they are to be burned at once, and not saved, even though they contain the name of God. Rabbi Jose said that on a week day the name of God ought to be torn out and hidden. Rabbi Tarphon invoked a curse upon himself if he did not burn the books, names of God and all."

A passage in M. Yeb. IV, 13; Yeb. 49b states that R. Shimeon ben Azzai said: "I found a genealogical roll in Jerusalem wherein was recorded, 'such and such a one is a bastard of an adultress.'" It is assumed by some that Jesus is here referred to, though Dalman in his *Thalmudischen Texte*, disputes it. Shimeon ben Azzai was a young contemporary of R. Akiba, who was active in the Bar Cochba revolution. Another interesting passage is that of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus—one of the earliest Tannaim who may be dated near the end of the first and early part of the second century (*Yeb.* 3, *Yoma* 66b) and who said in answer to

the question: "What of such-and-such-a-one as regards the world to come?": "You have only asked me about such-and-such-a-one. What of a bastard as touching inheritance? Levirate duties? Whitening of his house? Whitening the grave? Not because he evaded them by words, but because he never said a word which he had not heard from his teacher." The early Amoraim thought this referred to King Solomon; later Jewish authorities refer it to Jesus.²²

I think that enough quotations have been cited to show that there was an unfriendly attitude later on the part of some Jewish teachers—how many we cannot know,—towards Jesus. This attitude certainly must have been carried over to the people at large, who were acquainted with these sources. In view of the attitude of early Christians and Christianity to the Jews, that attitude was normal. As a matter of fact, if Abrahams²³ is correct, "Jewish authorities took energetic steps to warn their own fellow-Jews against the new faith, rather than persecute the followers of Jesus, except at the time of the Bar Cochba war. Passages in Acts such as Xiii, 5 45 and 50, Xiv, 5 and 19; Xvii, 1, 5 and others, in which it is stated that Paul preached in synagogues and tried to convert the worshippers, and then others who were not converted turned upon him and persecuted him, are interesting. Just what would happen in one of our neighborhood churches, if a former Protestant who turned Catholic would appear in a Protestant Church at a Sunday service, and harangue the crowd on the truth of the Catholic doctrine? I wonder whether the Protestants would turn the other cheek and ask for more? Or imagine a former Catholic turned Protestant, attempting to address the congregation in the Holy Name Cathedral at High Mass on Sunday on the falsity of the Catholic Church. It seems to me that instead of Harnack's making a point of the incessant persecution of Paul by the Jews in the synagogues he addressed, Harnack

²¹In Christie, J. T., *Studies*, xxvi-361.

²²J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 37.

²³I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism*, p. 56.

might have expressed some admiration for their liberalism, in permitting him to address them, since they probably had heard about him. The patience of the ancient Jew as he listened to a so-called fellow-Jew denouncing the faith of the fathers, and substituting for it the new theology, was no doubt no less long-suffering than would be that of a startled Christian congregation today, which beheld the preacher suddenly launching out on an attack upon the beliefs of his listeners. It makes all the difference in the world whose ox does the goring—but scholars should hold in mind the words of Abtalion, "Ye scholars, be ye heedful of your words, lest the heavenly Name be profaned."

We find an interesting passage in Sanh. 107b and Sotah 47a: "Always the left hand should repel and the right draw near; not like Elisha who thrust Gehazi away with both hands, not like Joshua ben Perachya who thrust away Jesus the Nazarene with both hands."²⁴ This does not show any hatred towards Jesus. Nor does another passage²⁵ in which Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus was once arrested by the Roman authorities, on the charge of Min-nith, that is, of being a Jew who had turned anti-Nomian, Christian or Nazarene, but was discharged. He was chagrined that he was thus suspected, until Akiba suggested that he might have listened too complacently to some heretical teachings. Eliezer then recalled that he had listened to one Jacob of Kefar Sekanya, a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth.

These and similar Talmudic statements indicate that the attitude towards Jesus and his teaching of the first generation of Tannaim-teachers who lived after the Destruction, among whom were some of Israel's most learned and pious, did not display the same bitterness, hatred and hostility which we find later, when Christianity had become strong enough to oppress and persecute

Israel in the name of Jesus. To them and their successors, until the time of Trajan and of Hadrian, Jesus was a Jew; he might have been a transgressor in Israel and thus might have sinned, but he is also described as one who expounded the Scriptures, who created the Midrashic Hagaddah, and who will have a share in the world to come. But his attitude towards the Torah, which (according to Klausner, pp. 46-7) he emphatically says one moment he came to support, while another time he sets it aside and "makes a mock of the words of the Wise," aroused the ire and the condemnation of the Talmud authorities.

There are repeated statements that Jesus was a miracle worker who got his power from the devil, who learned magic in Egypt and who could not defend himself adequately when tried. His illegitimacy has already been referred to. In some of the passages Jesus is regarded as the son of ben Stada, an Egyptian who performed tricks and who promised that the walls of Jerusalem would fall at his command, who was condemned at Lud and was stoned. This happened about 60 C. E. Sometimes Jesus is confused with Ben Stada or called Ben Stada, all of this indicating the confusion in the minds of those who spoke of him, and showing at the same time the lateness of these statements.

I shall not go into a discussion of the work known as *Toldoth Yeshu*, the *Generation of Jesus*, or the *Maaseh Talui*, and similar collections, which form the sources of the common stories and tales that have been circulated in Hebrew, Yiddish and other languages, among Jewish folk. All sorts of distortions about the life of Jesus, Mary, Mary Magdalene and other early Christian characters abound in them. Some of these tales may have been in circulation as early as the time of Origen and Tertullian. *Toldoth Yeshu*, or a work of similar character, may have been in circulation as early as the fifth century. Such a work, referred to by Agobard, Bishop of Lyons,

²⁴G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, 348.

²⁵Ab. Zar. 16b17a; *Yalkut Shimoni*, *Micah I* and *Proverb* 5, 5.

gave him the opportunity of basing a book which he called *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, about the middle of the ninth century. This late work does not fall within the scope of this paper.

I have said nothing about a number of Talmudic and Midrashic passages dealing with Minim or Minuth. The Minim, according to Herford,²⁶ are unfaithful Jews condemned as such, but not admitting themselves to be such. The Minim are those who are false at heart, but who do not necessarily proclaim their apostasy. They do not withdraw from the Jewish community, but have to be cast out. They are the most dangerous, because the most secret. Of Gentile Christianity, the Rabbinical literature takes scarcely any notice at all. (Her. 393) A min is an unfaithful Jew, although in a few cases, the term appears to be applied to Gentiles, apparently Christians. There are numerous references to them in the greater number of which no definite unfriendly attitude is indicated. These references that I cite, are instances of a definitely unfriendly attitude towards Minim, who were apparently Jewish Christians: In Pesachim 56a we read: Our Rabbis say, how shall we act? If we say (Blessed be the name, etc.), Moses our Master did not say it thus; if we do not say it, Jacob did say it. Abahu said that they ordered that men should say it in a loud voice because of the carping of the Minim; but in Nehardea where there are no Minim, they even now say it in a whisper.

According to J. Ber. 3c, they recited the Ten words . . . R. Mathnah and R. Shemuel bar Nahman both said: "It was sought that they should recite the Ten Words every day. And why do they not recite them? Because of the misrepresentation of the

Minim, that they might not say, 'these alone were given on Sinai.'"

This is what a certain Min said to R. Abahu: "When will the Messiah come?" He said to him, "when darkness hath covered these men (i. e. covered you)." He said "Thou art cursing me."²⁷ Herford says that this is the only passage in the Talmud where a Min refers to the Messiah (277). "It is remarkable" he says in another place (347) how very little the Talmud does say about Jesus although there be no longer any room for doubt that he is referred to.

R. Jochanan said "In every place (i. e. text of Scripture) which the Minim misinterpret, the text confutes them."²⁸

T. San. VIII 7: Man was created last. And why was he created last? So that the Minim might not say that there was a companion for Him in the work.²⁹

A certain Min said to Beruria "It is written (Isa. 54:1) 'Sing O barren woman thou that didst not bear. Sing because thou didst not bear.'" She said to him: "Fool, look at the end of the verse, for it is written there 'For more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife'" saith the Lord. "But what is meant by 'O, barren, that didst not bear, sing?'" The Congregation of Israel, which is like a woman who hath not borne children for Gehenna, like you." There are many more similar passages showing an unfriendly attitude toward Minim.

Herford, in his *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, cites 338 passages dealing with Jesus, the Minim and Minuth. Many of these indicate hostility between the two groups. Some merely relate incidents without any bias on either side. Many of these cannot be interpreted in terms of friendly or unfriendly attitudes. But it is significant that no more than seven of these citations refer directly to Jesus. Some others may be so interpreted—there is much difference of opinion about them. Many of the passages can be interpreted as directed against beginning Christianity. But it seems

²⁶*Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, p. 367.

²⁷*San. 99a.*

²⁸*Ibid.*, 38b.

²⁹*T. San. VIII, 7.*

³⁰*Ber. 10a.*

reasonable to believe, that if there were such widespread persecutions as indicated by Paul, by some of the early Church Fathers, and repeated by Harnack, the early Talmudic writings would have mentioned them, if only to show what the Jews did to try to stop the rise of Christianity.

I am not dealing with the Christ passages in Josephus, because like Zeitlin and Thackeray, I am convinced that they are spurious

or have been so changed as to render what is left, doubtful and unhistorical.

I hope that I have shed some light on this question to those who have not the time to go into this subject deeply. I think that next to the wide-spread misunderstanding about the Pharisees and Pharisaism, the so-called cruel part played by Jews in early Christian persecutions, is the most exaggerated and misunderstood.

Christian-Jewish Relations Today

CHARLES S. BRADEN

My colleagues have given a clear picture of the mutual attitudes of Jews and Christians in the early Christian centuries. Theirs was an almost strictly academic problem. There was a well-defined body of material, fragmentary to be sure, but, after all, representing a comparatively restricted geographical area, and involving a not too diverse group of races. Furthermore, save as they may have been tempted to identify themselves with one or another group, they were in a better position to maintain an attitude of scholarly detachment, which could view objectively the facts as they appear to be reflected in the available literature. Of course their study was wholly one from literary sources.

My problem is a vastly more complicated one. First of all it is contemporary. It is world-wide in extent. It embraces people from many races. It must consider a Christianity divided within itself into widely differing groups, and a Jewish community which is so much under persecution that it is naturally hypersensitive, and inclined to interpret as anti-Semitic, attitudes which in more normal times they would completely disregard.

The best I can hope to do is to try to see what attitudes appear to exist among the major groups of the present day. The divisions I have chosen to consider are, 1) The Roman Catholic, 2) Protestant, which must be further sub-divided into a) liberal and b) conservative, and 3) The Jewish group, which varies somewhat in its various internal divisions. Then it has been necessary to distinguish between official attitudes and those exhibited in the uncontrolled or non-official published sources, and the actual behavior of persons within the various groups. Obviously this is difficult to do, since one finds all sorts of behavior within

each of the different groups. Here the subjective element is most apt to enter, for the writer is himself a part of the scenes he surveys, and is doubtless influenced in his judgments by predilections of his own in this general field.

I

In attempting to set forth the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward the Jews it is necessary to have in mind certain facts. 1) It is only the Pope who can speak for the whole church. Theoretically, when he does speak *ex cathedra* his word is infallible. Yet it is also true that papal utterances must always be interpreted and, therefore, there is a considerable lack of unanimity among Catholics as to just what may or may not be done after the Pope has spoken. Also it should be understood that not all Catholics are good Catholics, just as not all Protestants are good Protestants, and that practice frequently lags far behind the ideal as enunciated by the head of the church. Obviously, in a world-wide organization, the head of the church can hardly be held responsible for the attitudes of individual Catholics or even individual priests. A local priest is subject to the control of his bishop. He must have the *nihil obstat* of his bishop on anything he publishes. Not quite such definite control is exercised in the matter of public utterance, even by radio. Ordinarily a Catholic priest, invited to address a general audience or to speak over the radio, would be likely to ask permission of his bishop. This would not be so necessary if the topic did not involve religion, or were non-controversial in nature. He would not ordinarily need to submit for approval a statement of what he intended to say. In matters not involving religious teaching or the church, priests are free to form and express their own opinions. However, if a

priest gives expression to views touching religion or the church which are not acceptable to his superiors, his bishop may repudiate his statements as not representing official Catholic views, and subject him to appropriate ecclesiastical discipline. In such a case he may thereafter require the priest in question to submit in writing for his approval what he intends saying publicly.

Under such a principle it becomes legitimate to interpret any priestly utterances as reflecting at least an attitude permitted by the diocesan authority, if after a reasonable time has elapsed the bishop has not taken any action in the case either to repudiate such statements or forbid their repetition. And ultimately if this is not done and the higher hierarchy does not in some way disavow what is said or done, the public is likely to decide that the church approves the statements or behavior of its priest. This is particularly true in cases where the priest is dealing with controversial issues or problems which are likely in any way to involve the church in its public relations.

If it be asked what the official Roman Catholic attitude toward Jews is, the Pope has spoken quite clearly: "It is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism. We are Semites spiritually."

This should undoubtedly settle the matter. But as indicated above this must be interpreted. It is an ideal, as President Roosevelt has recently said of the Atlantic Charter. What does anti-Semitism mean? As a matter of fact, I have found no Christian group which openly declares sympathy toward anti-Semitism. The official statements of the churches are almost unanimously "anti-anti-Semitism." But rarely do they define what anti-Semitism is.

The anti-Semitism of the Nazis is easily

identifiable, for it is violent and deadly in its operation, and most of the churches, Catholic and Protestant, have protested vigorously against it. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has issued a 32-page pamphlet entitled, *Christians Protest Persecution*, in which are gathered together the protests of Christians of all the various branches of the church in Great Britain, the United States, the unoccupied countries of Europe, those occupied by the Nazis and even from within Germany itself, against the systematic and diabolical persecution of the Jewish people by the Nazis. Here we quote only a few from some of the Catholic groups. The American hierarchy declared, "We feel a deep sense of revulsion against the cruel indignities heaped upon the Jews in conquered countries and upon defenceless people not of our faith." The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Holland issued a pastoral letter read in all Catholic churches throughout the country, April 19, 1942, condemning the "unmerciful and unjust treatment meted out to Jews by those in power over our country".¹ In reprisal for intervention by the Catholic clergy on behalf of the Jews, all Jewish converts to Catholicism were deported.² Also Catholic priests have been harshly dealt with, financial grants to the church discontinued and church property confiscated.³ It costs to protest in an occupied country. In Belgium, the Nazis arrested a priest who had invited his people to pray for the Jewish people of Belgium "who are being murdered and persecuted by the enemies of the Belgian people."⁴ A priest was executed for sheltering one hundred Jewish children in violation of Nazi decrees against the Jews.⁵ Five Roman Catholic Bishops in Italy protested to Mussolini against the persecution of the Jews in Italy.⁶ A Fascist paper declared, "The church's obstruction of the practical solution of the Jewish problem constitutes a crime against the New Europe." Hungarian bishops protested the passage of anti-Semitic laws by the Hungarian parliament in 1939.

¹*Christians Protest Persecution*, p. 15.

²*Ibid.*, p. 15

³*Ibid.*, p. 16

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 16

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 16

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 20

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 20

Certain French Catholic bishops and archbishops fearlessly condemned the anti-Jewish decrees of the Vichy government. In one section of France, Laval ordered the arrest of all priests who hid Jewish children in their presbyteries. More than 120 priests were deported because of their persistence in sheltering such children. The cardinal forbade priests to surrender children and threatened excommunication of those who bought property unjustly taken from Jews.¹

In the United States, the Catholics officially co-operate in the National Council of Christians and Jews. Recently the bishops of Oklahoma and Texas have warmly endorsed such co-operation with Protestants and Jews. There are, of course, anti-Semites among the Catholics. Some publications emanating from Catholic sources are anti-Semitic, notably *Social Justice* which was the organ of Charles J. Coughlin of radio fame, and the *Brooklyn Tablet*.

Father Coughlin was almost violently anti-Semitic in some of his radio addresses in 1938. By many it was thought that his was the voice of Catholicism. But Catholic voices were quickly raised in protest. Cardinal Mundelein declared that he did not speak for Catholics nor give Catholic attitudes. The liberal Catholic journal, *Commonweal*, sharply criticized his anti-Semitism, and exposed editorially the baselessness of his anti-Jewish charges.

It was the impression of some non-religious periodicals which reported the anti-Semitic activities of the "Christian Front" that it was made up most largely of Catholics. The police protection of persons selling *Social Justice* and their failure to protect those who opposed its sale, or sold rival sheets condemning the anti-semitic and anti-fascist activities of the "Christian Fronters," was attributed to the fact that the policemen involved were largely Irish Catholic. As late as 1942 the *Christian Century* reports that the magazine *Social*

Justice was still being sold in front of most Catholic churches. This would not of necessity mean that the Catholic church approved of the periodical and its teaching. But, remarks the *Christian Century*, "It is easy to imagine that something would be done about it if a communist paper employed a similar method of distribution. 'It at least shows,' they continue, 'that peddlers of Coughlin's paper know where to find a market'.²

Are Catholic laymen anti-Semitic? This is a difficult question to answer with any degree of certainty. It is, of course, true that some are. The issuance of tracts against it and utterances of church leaders, from the pope down, addressed chiefly to Catholics, is an indication that they are definitely aware of the presence of anti-Semitism among their laymen. Titles of recent pamphlets by leading Catholics are interesting and include: *The Sin of Anti-Semitism*, and *We Spiritual Semites* by Thomas F. Doyle; *Dare We Hate the Jews* by Daniel Lord, one of the most popular Catholic tractarians of our day; *Why the Jews Are Persecuted* by Joseph N. Moody; *Catholics and Anti-Semitism* by J. Elliott Ross; *The Popes Condemn Anti-Semitism*, by Dr. Maurice S. Sheehy; *Anti-Semitism is an Un-American and Un-Christian Principle*, by Assoc. Justice Frank Murphy of the Supreme Court—printed in the Congressional Record, May 8, 1944, and circulated, not at government expense, in pamphlet form.

Michael Williams, well-known Catholic journalist, writing in the *Commonweal* throws some light on the prevalence of anti-Semitism among Catholics. He says: "The prevalence of this blind spirit of hatred of Jews among American Catholics is also revealed this week in the syndicated column of Father Gillis, who denounces it, in the Catholic weekly press. Now, of course, it may be true that not all the American Catholics who cherish hatred of the Jews would therefore surrender their country to Hitler; nevertheless, the spreading of virulent anti-

¹*Christians Protest Persecution*, p. 26

²*Christian Century*, Vol. 59, p. 484

Semitism among Catholics in recent months and years is now an anti-national and, in my opinion, ultimately an anti-Catholic menace of the most sinister sort . . . The doctrine that would hold a secret clique of Jews responsible for all the evils of our age—is far more widely spread among our Catholic people than is generally known."¹

Daniel Lord, in his pamphlet, "*Dare We Persecute the Jews*," tells of a letter received from a nun working largely among Jewish people, which, he says, told "how they, the nuns, could feel the growth, swift, and implacable, of hatred on the part of Catholics of the Jews—and that hatred of Jews, anti-Semitism, as it is called, seems to be rising in priests and religious as well as in the laity."² He adds that when he published the pamphlet, *Why Are Jews Persecuted*, there came to his desk, "Formal protests, unsigned attacks, indignant letters. What does The Queens Work (his organization) mean by defending the Jews, notoriously haters of Christians?"

It is interesting to note the basis of condemnation of anti-Semitism. Writers differ, of course, as we shall see, but the one reason which appears over and over is that those who persecute the Jews today may tomorrow turn on the Catholics, who in many places are themselves in the minority. They rightly judge that if any minority is denied its rights, no minority is ultimately secure. Father John A. Ryan deprecates the appeal to self-interest, i.e. the interest of self-preservation of the Catholic people, as a low motive—and alleges that "the first two commandments provide an infinitely higher motive and an immensely more effective one"³ But the frequent repetition of the

theme, "we are all in the same boat", if it does not indicate that it is regarded as the highest motive, probably does reflect the belief on the part of many that this is the motive which is most likely to appeal practically to people. Two direct statements of this may suffice: Father J. Elliot Ross writes, "Selfish considerations compel Catholics to realize that what begins as anti-Semitism can easily and quickly pass over to anti-Catholicism."⁴ Daniel Lord puts it thus: "It would be a terrible thing if Catholics, through their hatred of Jews, aligned themselves with frankly brutal pagans who, though they seem to be concentrating their malicious energies against the Jews, have not forgotten to strike fierce, savage blows against Catholics, and who will, if ever they succeed in wiping out the Jews, turn their fullest destructive hatred against the Catholics".⁵

Anti-Semitism of the more violent sort is, as we have seen, under official disapproval of the Roman Catholic, as well as of the Protestant Church. But what of the less violent types; e.g., such things as restricting housing, exclusion from hotels, from lodges, fraternities, sororities? And what of the still milder forms, such as speaking slightly of Jews, calling them "sheenies" or "kikes", or thoughtlessly attributing to a whole people, undesirable characteristics of individual Jews whom one may have met? Here the problem is more difficult. There is no easy way of getting at it. Such attitudes are common enough among Protestants and Catholics, even among people who condemn the Nazi form of anti-Semitism. One finds here and there warnings against such milder forms, but how widespread they are, it is not easy to discover.

One tract published by Queens Work, one of the most active Catholic groups in the publication and circulation of pamphlets, definitely takes account of them. The writer, Thomas Doyle, recognizes the importance of these less virulent forms of anti-Semitism as providing a basis for the more violent

¹*Commonweal*, Vol. 35, page 245, Williams, Michael

²Lord, Daniel, *Dare We Persecute the Jews?*, p. 3-4

³Williams, Michael, *Commonweal*, Vol. 35, page 245.

⁴Ross, Elliot J., "Catholics and Anti-Semitism," *Ecclesiastical Review*, May 1939, and reprinted as pamphlet, page 1.

⁵Lord, Daniel, *Dare We Persecute the Jews?*, page 6.

type. "There are minor manifestations of anti-Semitism with which it is not difficult for ordinary conscientious persons to become associated. If subterranean anti-Semitism were to emerge into the open, no Catholic could justly maintain an attitude of aloofness or unconcern. . . . It is important to insist that an anti-Semitism can exist even among cultured and disciplined groups among which no hand would be raised to inflict actual physical harm on the Jews. Many otherwise blameless Catholics betray at times a tendency to disparage the Jews and to accept without question every fresh calumny directed against them. Too seldom is the voice of the gentile raised to defend the slandered Jew in his midst. It is rather his custom to listen and propagate the sly anecdotes, the vague accusations, that, harmless enough in themselves, tend in the aggregate to give undue depth and bitterness to the wells of distrust that might have dried up if exposed to the sunshine of healthy, honest scrutiny. The drippings of poisonous propaganda in indiscriminating minds soon enough form a calcifying shell to imprison the natural virtues of kindness and good will".¹

It should be remarked that most anti-Semitism emanating from Christian sources, whether Protestant or Catholic, refuses to admit that it is anti-Semitic. Father Coughlin, one of the most influential of the anti-Semites, denies that he is one. He has a great deal to say about good Jews. He is only against the bad ones. *The Commonweal* in an editorial, December 9, 1938, shortly after the most violent of Coughlin's outbursts against the Jews, definitely brackets Coughlin, the *Brooklyn Tablet* and certain other Catholic weeklies as anti-Semitic and condemns Coughlin's "convenient fondness for expressing tender solicitude for

what he chooses to call the God-fearing Jews", but declares that this does not deceive the public and that "the American public believes that what these papers turn out on the subject of race is anti-Semitic".²

The Coughlin technique was to identify Communism with the Jews. The Catholic well-known aversion to Communism could then be easily transferred to the Jews. Even *The Catholic World*, which has published some excellent articles against anti-Semitism, contained an article which, many would hold, carries in it the seed of anti-Semitism, and it seems to give warrant for the belief that the attitude of the Pope has not been too favorable to the Jews. Note the epithet, "the renegade Jew," who is "behind the anti-social movements of the day".

"If you take from the Jew his religion leaving him only with his perennially frustrated sense of nationalism (a sense aggravated by his inferiority complex in contact with the Gentiles among whom his lot is cast) trouble is bound to follow. It is among such moral outcasts that the agitation is bred . . . Throughout the world we find the renegade Jew behind the anti-social movements of the day—and it is because of their knowledge of this fact that the Roman Pontiffs of the past hundred years look askance on Jewry"³

II

We turn now to the Protestant attitude, and here I have indicated that we must distinguish between the liberal and conservative groups. As in the case of the Catholics, neither group supports anti-Semitism in its more violent forms. Almost every Protestant group, whether liberal or conservative, has voiced its protest against the inhuman cruelty of Nazism toward the Jews. They could not do otherwise and pretend to be Christians. The chief differences lie, I think, first, in the field of practice. The liberals have, on the whole, been more active in doing something about the matter; and second, in their different attitude toward the Bible, which does not require them to look upon Jewish persecution as inevitable, but something that can be overcome, and something, therefore, that must be opposed. Professor C. H. Moehlman of Colgate-Rochester Theological Seminary in his book,

¹Doyle, Thos. F. *The Sin of Anti-Semitism*, pamphlet published by Paulist Press, N. Y. 1940, pp. 6-7.

²Williams, Michael, *Commonweal*, Vol. 29, pp. 169-170.

³*Catholic World*, Vol. 145, p 457.

The Jewish-Christian Tragedy, says: "Some Christian had to write this book. An apology to Judaism on the part of part of Christianity has long been overdue. The relation between Christianity and Judaism during the last nineteen centuries is an ethical problem which twentieth century Christianity can no longer afford to ignore." Then, after stating some modern conclusion growing out of modern study, quite a variance with tradition, he continues, "If these things be true, the teachings of Jesus demand that modern Christianity acknowledge them and make a confession of sin because of the thousands and thousands of unjust statements found in their literature, as well as for the revenge in many forms taken upon Judaism".¹

On the side of practice it is definitely a fact that the Protestant leaders in an effort to bring about better relations between Christians and Jews are mainly from the liberal groups. The genesis of the National Council of Christians and Jews was in the Federal Council of Churches, and was thus the result of the liberal Protestant initiative. Catholics and Jews responded, but did not start it, and it is chiefly liberal Protestants who are called upon to speak where Catholic, Jew and Protestant appear together.

The most active and aggressive group in opposing anti-Semitism, not simply in its more overt forms, but in its milder, but nevertheless basic forms is one organized around the *Protestant* magazine, which is made up definitely from the liberal Protestant group. One of their main drives is based upon a conviction that the root of much of the anti-Semitism among Christians lies in the anti-Jewish bias which is passed on through certain interpretations of the Bible, particularly those dealing with the sufferings and death of Christ. If this does not actually cause Christians to mistreat Jews violently, it does create a set of attitudes toward them which predisposes those who receive such teachings to accept dis-

crimination and persecution, at least of the non-violent type, as a direct judgment of God upon the Jews and therefore, inevitable. In its cruder forms, it actually leads to violence against the "Christ-killers". Certain texts are particularly emphasized, as for example, the curse of Cain. "And now cursed art thou . . . a fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou be in the earth" (Gen. 4, 11-12). Over and over again in Bible notes and commentaries and in text books of religious instruction, Catholic and conservative Protestant, this is said to be fulfilled in the homeless wanderings and persecution of the Jews.

Or another, when at the crucifixion of our Lord, the Jews are made to say: "His blood be upon us and upon our children" (Mt. 27, 25).

E. Hillary Moseley, a conservative Protestant writer, calls these "the most unfortunate words that ever fell from the lips of any people. This sentence brought death to their Messiah and many long centuries of intense suffering to Israel as a nation. . . Until the coronation day (of Christ) Israel and all the gentile world must suffer the consequences of a very unfortunate situation." Israel was prepared over a period of 2,000 years to receive the Messiah, "but instead she bitterly and violently rejected Jesus Christ as her Messiah and for the time being has repudiated her high calling. Of course such action calls for severe judgment, and this is just what Israel has received and will receive until the time she is willing to accept Christ as her King and place Him on His rightful throne; and show a willingness to do the work she is called to do (become the chosen channel for world evangelization) . . . Israel will have no rest and the Gentile nations no permanent peace until Israel gets back to her land as a nation and gets back to her God."

The Text Book Commission of *The Protestant* has compiled a lengthy list of excerpts from Christian sources, mostly, it must be said, from Catholic sources, but

¹Moehlman, C. H., *The Jewish-Christian Tragedy*, p. viii.

als not a few from conservative Protestant books which are used in the *The Protestant* religious instruction of children, and which are such as to build up anti-Jewish prejudice in the minds of children and youth. This they hold is to provide a tool for anti-Semitism as a prelude to totalitarian control of the country. A few excerpts are here included:

Thus a Catholic New Testament has an explanatory footnote to Rev. 2:2, where the "synagogue of Satan" is mentioned. "The Jews are the *Synagogue of Satan*. The true synagogue is the Christian church."

A book, *The Four Gospels*, by S. Ridout, says in one place, "This manifests them (the Jews) as the children of the devil, doing the lusts of their father who was a murderer and a liar."¹ It also speaks of "the incurable malignity of the Jews" and refers to the condition of Israel as being "one of leprosy, uncleanness, and therefore unfitness for the presence of God."

The widely used *Life of Jesus Christ* by James Stalker has this rather strange statement. Speaking of the concluding drama of Christ's life he says, "There broke forth on Him an Oriental brutality of abuse which makes the blood run cold," and "It was a thoroughly Jewish spectacle."²

A Roman Catholic text, *Bible History*, by Bishop Richard Glamour, has this: "For eighteen hundred years has the blood of Christ been upon the Jews . . . they have wandered from nation to nation, bearing with them the visible signs of God's curse. Like Cain, marked with a mysterious sign,

they shall continue to wander until the end of the world."³

Another, to quote but one more, *The Passion and Death of Jesus Christ* by St. Alphonsus Liguori, an old book but still used in Catholic Seminaries: "Unhappy Jews! You then said, 'His blood be upon us and our children'. You have prayed for chastisement; it has already come. Your nation bears and shall bear to the end of the world the punishment due to the shedding of innocent blood."⁴

If I have quoted more from Catholic sources it is because they bulked larger in the collection assembled by the Text Book Commission, but not a few came from conservative Protestant sources.

Here, alleges the Text Book Commission, is a practical test of the sincerity of the Roman Catholic or Protestant groups who repudiate anti-Semitism in the Nazis and Fascists. "If you really mean it," they say, "begin by purging your text books of these unfair and inflammatory, hatred producing teachings concerning the Jews, for it is these which in large measure determine attitudes of the people toward the Jews."

It should be said that the National Conference of Christians and Jews has a commission which is also working at the elimination of these anti-Semitic references, but the Protestant Text Book Commission has criticised it as timorous and ineffective, alleging that it dare not speak out plainly on this urgent matter lest the Catholics withdraw from participation in the National Conference. They regard the matter as an urgent one and are disposed to proceed aggressively and attempt to force the Catholic church to excise the objectionable matter from its books. Some progress has been made, but more in Protestant than Catholic areas. The National Conference Commission chooses to work chiefly through the slower educational process, and has in recent months sought closer co-operation with recognized national educational organizations in introducing effective inter-

¹Moseley, Edward Hillary, *The Jew and His Destiny*, p. 112.

²The New Testament, St. Anthony's Guild Press, Paterson, N. J. 1941.

³Redont, S., *The Four Gospels*, Loiseaux Bros., Bible Truth, Depot, N. Y., p. 373.

⁴Quoted among an unpublished ms. collection assembled by Text Book Commission, p. 12.

⁵Glamour, Richard, *Bible History*, Benziger 1936, p. 209.

⁶Liguori, St. Alphonsus, *The Passion and Death of Jesus Christ*, Redemptorist Fathers, Brooklyn, New York pp. 188-9.

racial, inter-group understanding into the public schools.

In general, the liberals are relatively free from this kind of teaching. Their whole concept of the Bible renders it improper for them to make such interpretations. Some of them have attempted to show that there is no basis for blaming the Jews, as a people, for the death of Jesus, *e.g.*, F. C. Grant, "Did the Jews Crucify Jesus?" *Christian Century*, Volume 56, pp. 275-76 (Mar. 1, 1939). Another writes frankly of "Anti-Semitism in the Fourth Gospel" in the *Journal of Religion*, Volume 21, pp. 123-30.

There has been a close *rapprochement* between the more extreme liberal Protestant and liberal Jew; *e.g.*, in Chicago, and doubtless also in other cities, there has long existed a liberal ministers' group composed of Protestant ministers and Jewish Rabbis which meets periodically for social fellowship and discussion of religious questions.

I sought diligently in conservative Protestant writings some discussion of the Jewish problem. I found comparatively little that could be labelled anti-Semitic beyond the interpretation of some of the Biblical texts as above. On the other hand, I found one conservative, definitely fundamentalist, evangelist writing in a pamphlet, *Jewish Persecution and Bible Prophecies*: "I beg you never join in any persecution of the Jews. Jews are no more guilty of the death of Christ than Gentiles." "How unthinkable for anyone who claims to be a Christian even nominally to persecute the Jews."

His explanation of their plight is not on the ground that God has cast them away.

¹*Jewish Persecution and Bible Prophecies*, Wheaton, 1942, p. 45.

²*Id.*, p. 6.

³*Jewish Persecution and Bible Prophecies*, Wheaton, 1942, pp. 17-18

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 38

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 46

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 40

⁷Piper, Otto C., *God in History*, Macmillan, N.Y. 1939, p. 97.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 105

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 105

"They are still the chosen people of God. . . . God has preserved the Jews as a separate people . . . to fulfill his purpose in them. . . . But Satan hates them. . . . Every blow at the Jews is a blow at Jesus Christ. This is the only explanation of the senseless, wicked persecution against the Jews." "The end of the Jewish persecution will not come until the glorious appearing of Christ . . . their persecution is a very definite sign of His coming." Satan inspires the persecution of the Jews because he hates Christ." "But individual Jews, thank God, can have sweet peace now, in Christ."

In a book by one of the leaders of the Neo-orthodox movement, Otto C. Piper, one finds acceptance of the persecution of the Jews as ordained of God, in judgment upon them. "Even their punishment offers proof of God's wisdom and goodness," for "The Jews as a people are part of the chosen people of God and therefore enjoy his special protection . . . God will not only preserve the Jews from total perdition but every persecution will eventually turn to their advantage." . . . but "The Jewish question will remain insoluble to the nations because God has reserved its solution to Himself and He will bring it about at the end of holy history. Then the Jews will accept Christ, and when they have returned into the Father's house, the curse of restlessness and contempt will be taken from them."

I have no way of knowing what personal attitude toward the Jews the writer of these words would take in case of a violent outbreak in this country of anti-Semitism. Probably his humanitarianism would lead him to denounce it, but it was comforting to discover Karl Barth taking this forthright practical position: "When that occurs which in this matter is now in Germany notoriously resolved upon and already put in practice, namely the 'physical extermination' of the people of Israel, the burning of synagogues and Scriptures, the

rejection of the 'Jew God' and the 'Jew Bible' as being of the very essence of all that which ought to be an abomination to the German 'man'—then it is thereby and thereby alone decided that there the attempt is being made to strike a mortal blow into the roots of the church. Can anyone so much as want to close his ears to all the unutterable misery caused by this anti-Semitic pest crying to Heaven in every German country? But how is it possible that our Christian ears do not tingle in view of what this plight and malignancy mean? Objectively, what are we then without Israel? He who rejects and persecutes the Jews rejects and persecutes Him who died for the sins of the Jews—and then, and only *thereby* for our sins as well. He who is a radical enemy of the Jews, were he in every regard an angel of light, shows himself as such to be a radical enemy. Anti-Semitism is sin against the Holy Ghost. For anti-Semitism means rejection of the *Grace* of God . . . the church can have nothing whatever to do with national socialism."¹

Apart from the anti-Semitic aspect of the relation of Christians and Jews, liberals and conservatives also differ on the matter of converting the Jew to Christianity. Conservative Christianity is by its very logic bound to be aggressively missionary in its relation to the Jews, and does engage in not a little missionary work. Liberal Christians, who hold to a less creedal emphasis than their brother Christians, rejoice in the acceptance of the Christian spirit among Jews and are less concerned about formal and intellectual conversion—and many seriously deprecate evangelization of the Jews in the narrower sense. Catholics have very few special missions to Jews, but believe of course in the necessity of Jewish acceptance of Christ and baptism for salvation.

One other aspect of the problem relates to the Jews as a separate racial entity and not so much as a religion. Here there is

some liberal opinion, expressed notably by the *Christian Century*, which is of course in no sense in sympathy with anti-Semitism, but has on the contrary vigorously and consistently denounced it in all its forms, mild or violent—that the Jew cannot have his cake and eat it, too. He cannot maintain his separateness and at the same time escape some of the disadvantages that minority groups inevitably suffer. The logical solution is therefore complete assimilation in so far as racial distinctions are concerned. It declares, "The root cause of the Jewish problem is the Jew's immemorial and pertinacious obsession with an illusion, the illusion that his race, his people, are the object of the special favor of God who requires the maintenance of their racial integrity and separateness as a medium through which, soon or late, will be performed some mighty act involving human destiny . . . Judaism must take the initiative. Jewish prophets must arise in Judaism who will proclaim the terrible truth, that Judaism has been feeding its racial pride for millenniums on an illusion; that its martyrdom in a large measure is self-invited; that its racial integrity is no more important in God's sight than any other race's integrity; that race is so little important in God's sight that he has not preserved the integrity of a single people now living, including the Jewish people; and that God is able of these to raise up children unto Abraham."

"It is just this obsession with the doctrine of a covenant race that now menaces the whole world, and the Jews are the chief sufferers from it. Their idea of an integral race, with its own exclusive culture, hallowed and kept unified by a racial religion is itself the prototype of Nazism. . . . If the protest it made that it is unfair to ask the Jew to yield the hopes and ideals and traditions of the fathers the answer must be an abrupt, 'Why not?' That is what all the rest of us have done (in America) or are in the process of doing."

¹Barth, Karl, *Church and Political Problems*, Scribner, N.Y. 1939, p. 50-51

Conrad Hoffman, long editor of a clip sheet, called "A Christian Approach to the Jews" seems to hold a similar position. He writes, "The Jew must choose between preservation of his racial and national identity, which will involve persecution, and assimilation, which implies his possible disappearance as a Jew. All events and circumstances, as far as world Jewry is concerned, are focussing around this central issue."¹

As touching this, the Conservative Protestants would not agree. So much of the apocalyptic scheme involves the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, that their disappearance would be unthinkable. Many conservative Protestants sympathize with Jewish Zionism and rejoice in its success because this portends the early end of the age. Liberals differ among themselves in this matter. There is one liberal-led national Christian Movement to further the Zionist hope of establishing the Jewish home—indeed a political Jewish state—in Palestine. Other liberals doubt the wisdom of such a step, and indeed see in it a world of future trouble and possibly even a worse condition for the Jews than at present, if such a state should be formed.

III

When we turn to consider Jewish attitudes toward Christians the writer feels less confidence. He is not so familiar with this aspect of the study, nor have sources been as abundant as concerning Protestants and Catholics. He can only record certain impressions which he has received and trust that some of the Jewish members of our society may correct or supplement this.

Undoubtedly the geographical factor must be considered. The attitudes of Jews toward Christians in America, where, on the whole, little violence has been suffered at the hands of Christians, will be different

from that of the Jews in Europe who have been victims of terrible persecution by those whom they consider Christians. Undoubtedly, also some memories of previous sufferings in Europe of older Jews in America may still color their attitudes toward Christians here. However, Jewish friends have told me that, on the contrary, some of these people coming to America and finding on the whole, a degree of acceptance undreamed of in their European homes, and indeed repeated kindnesses at the hands of Christians, have gone almost to the opposite extreme. Often this leads them to celebrate Christmas to the extent of sending greetings or gifts to Christian friends. It is said that in the army many Jewish boys voluntarily forego a furlough which falls due or which they might have at Christmas time, in order that Christian soldiers may enjoy the Christmas season with their families.

The general attitude of the Jewish group in America is one of co-operation with Christian groups whenever opportunity affords. This is more true of the Conservative and Reform Jews than the Orthodox, but this may be partly due to the fact that the latter, more recently come to America, not knowing English well and living many of them in segregated areas, do not have the contacts with the Christian groups, and are therefore not well known to them. Thus, their co-operation is less likely to be sought by Christians. Jews participate gladly in the National Conference of Christians and Jews and think well of its work. Nevertheless, in a recent meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, reference was made to a call upon the executive director of the Conference "to present our feeling that the method pursued by the organization was superficial and was not getting results."² Likewise there was a complaint that though active in the support of the Conference and its work, the Central Conference had no adequate share in its direction.

Some Jewish leaders are critical of what

¹Christian Century editorial, "Jewry and Democracy," Vol. 54, pp. 734-6

²Hoffman, Conrad, "Modern Jewry and the Church," *International Review of Religions*, Vol. 23 (1934)

they regard as the timidity of the Conference in discussing mutual relations between the groups holding that out of fear of alienating the Roman Catholics from the movement, the real issues are often enough not faced, such for example as the highly anti-Semitic bias in some of the text books used by Catholic children. It will not do, they say, merely to talk of mutual tolerance. Those things that produce hatred and distrust must be eradicated if ever Jews are to be accepted as the brothers-in-fact which on the Round Table platforms it is piously asserted that they are. *The Protestant* receives not a little Jewish support because of its vigorous denunciation of anti-Semitic teaching in Christian Sunday schools and parochial schools.

Toward Christians, the Jews are entirely tolerant as touching their religious faith. There is, of course, no effort made now to convert Christians to Judaism. An extract from a letter of a well-known Rabbi of the 18th century, Jacob Emden, to the "Council of the Four Lands" was given me as still a good statement of the attitude of the Jews toward Christianity and Christians. In 1757 he wrote: "The Founder of Christianity conferred a double blessing upon the world: On the one hand he strengthened the Torah of Moses, and emphasized its eternal validity. On the other hand he conferred favor on the heathens in removing idolatry from them, imposing upon them the seven Noahidean precepts. Added to this, he imposed upon them stricter moral obligations than are contained in the Torah of Moses. There are many Christians of high qualities and excellent morals. Would that Christians would all live in conformity with their precepts: They are not enjoined, like the Israelites, to observe the law of Moses, nor do they sin in worshipping a triune God. They will receive reward from God for having

propagated a belief in Him among nations that never heard His name; for He looks into the heart."

One of the major causes of resentment against Christians among Jews is the attempt of Christians to convert them. The late Claude G. Montefiore, outstanding liberal Jewish leader in England, expressed in *The Hibbert Journal* his attitude concerning the conversion of the Jews. In that thoughtful article he opposes it of course. He regards the attempt as one of the major irritants in the relationship of Christians and Jews. "The missionaries and their efforts are," he says, "a perpetual irritant, a constantly running sore." He admits the legitimacy of the missionary attempts to convert the *heathens*, but he denies that the Jews are heathens. They like Christians are theists and it ill behooves theists to attempt to convert theists. He particularly deprecates medical missions to Jews or any thing that smacks of *bribery*, for that is what he evidently considers such efforts to be. He reproaches Christianity for its inner division and asks if a Jew must become Christian, which kind must he be. He states the typical Jewish attitude toward proselytizing thus: "There always have been conversionary attitudes, there always will be. There always has been a heap of money wasted. There always will be. A few Jews, the illiterate and the poor, succumb to the arguments, whether spiritual or material, of the missionaries. The vast majority of Jews, even as their ancestors resisted dire persecutions, and braved the sword and the stake, resist successfully the persistent effort of the competing conversionist societies."

A special committee appointed by the Central Conference of American Rabbis to study the matter of attempted missions to Jews by Christian groups, reported in 1917, in part: "Conversion to Christianity is limited to poor fellows, unable to make a living, of whom a goodly number are imposters feeding on the credulity of bigoted Christians . . . The only serious part of the

¹Annual Report, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. 51, pp. 36-7

²Montefiore, Claude G., *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. 27, pp 424-37

whole movement is its baneful influence on Jewish family life, especially on the minds of children who are lured from the homes of their parents by the unscrupulous hirelings of the missionary societies who wish to make a good showing of success for the support which they receive. . . . Such a study is worth while, especially in order to expose the character of those pretenders who pose as religious enthusiasts, but are almost without exception hypocrites."²

There are well-known and influential Jews who seek a closer *rapprochement* with Christianity, not by way of conversion and acceptance of the orthodox dogmas concerning Jews, but who believe that the Jewish community should accept Jesus as the greatest of their prophets. John Cournos writes in his *Open Letter to Jews and Christians*: "I do not ask the Jew to become that thing so repugnant to him—a converted Jew, a renegade. What I do say is, let the Jew convert himself to his essential Jewishness which was in that most essential of all Jews, Jesus. Let the Jew remain a Jew, flaunting his Jewishness, the spirit of the Jew, Jesus. And if the Jew ask himself, will that admit me to the 'Christian' hotel, the 'Christian' Country Club, let him not take it amiss if he continues to be excluded, let him console himself with the fact that Jesus himself, were he suddenly to put in his appearance here, would also be excluded, and for the same reason, that he is a Jew. And if he have a sense of humor, let him laugh a little, let him think what a good joke it is. And let him reflect that it is better to be

excluded with Jesus than be included with those doing lip-service to the great Jewish Rabbi. Perhaps if he will try hard, the Jew will succeed in converting his Christian neighbor to Christianity."

Sholem Asch, author of *The Nazarene*, is said to take somewhat this position. It is reported too that there are Sholem Asch groups in various parts of the country who share and propagate like views. But, of course, most do not. As a matter of fact, I was informed by a Rabbi friend that no Jewish printer could be found who would print his book in Yiddish. It had to be issued in English.

Rabbi Newman in an *Atlantic Monthly* article pours scorn upon Cournos. "We Jews," he writes, "repudiate the invitation to purchase immunity from persecution by coming to terms with Christianity through 'accepting Jesus as our greatest prophet, the keystone of our ultimate faith.' . . . The only terms on which we Jews can attain an understanding with Christians are that we be unmolested in the observance of our ancestral religion. Judaism is adequate for us, its ethics, its philosophy, doctrines, ceremonies, and institutions answer our spiritual requirements, for Judaism is not only religion and it is not only ethics; it is the sum total of all the needs of the nation placed on a religious basis." He concludes, "They bite on granite who seek to dragoon or allure us away from our traditions."

There is much more that could be said if there were time. Some important phases of the subject have undoubtedly been overlooked. I believe, however, that in what I have written you can see what, in the main, are the varying mutual attitudes of Jews and Christians.

Surely everyone of us here, Jew and Christian alike, long for the coming of a better world in which men of all races and religious faiths may live together in brotherhood and peace. Let us work, all of us, to bring about that happier day!

¹Montefiore, Claude G., *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 425

²*Central Conference American Rabbis*, Vol. 27, 1917, p. 106.

³Cournos, John, *Open Letter to Jews and Christians*, Oxford Univ. Press, N.Y., 1938, p. 34.

A Jewish Rabbi friend reports that Cournos has become a Christian.

⁴Louis I. Newman, "Biting on Granite," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 161, pp. 244-247, Passim. (Feb. 1938).

A New Historical Atlas to the Bible

REVIEWED BY J. PHILIP HYATT

GEOGRAPHY IS A subject which is no longer academic. The present global war has made us more vividly aware of many regions of our globe than we formerly thought possible. Names and regions with strange and unpronounceable names have become commonplace. Rivers and mountains have taken on new meanings as military barriers.

Biblical geography has long been an important subject, and scholars—if not laymen—have known that one cannot really understand the Bible without knowing more than casually the geography of the lands in which Biblical events took place. Palestine as the Holy Land has been the center of more detailed attention than any other country of the world. It was so situated in the ancient world that it served as the “funnel” through which the best of that world in religion and some other aspects of culture could be preserved for later times; and yet it did possess a certain detachment (especially in the highlands of Judea) which made possible the building up of a distinctive culture and the revelation of a unique religion.

In view of these facts, the publication of *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*¹ is an event which is both opportune and exceedingly welcome. It is opportune because of the renewed interest in the Bible today and the need for keeping that interest “down to earth”; it is welcome because it fills a lacuna which has existed for several years in Biblical scholarship. The classical work in English in this field, George Adam

Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* was first published in 1894. It went through twenty-five editions, the last appearing in 1932, but the later editions were not brought as fully up-to-date as they might have been. An entirely new work has been needed because of the great advances made in recent years in archeology, decipherment of ancient scripts, scientific identification of places, and related fields.

The two editors are well equipped for the task they have undertaken. Both are members of the faculty of McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. G. Ernest Wright received his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University, where he was a student of Professor W. F. Albright, the leading Orientalist in America today and a world authority especially in Palestinian archeology and Semitic philology. The latter has written an introductory article to the present volume, and his influence is discernible throughout its pages. Professor Wright was for a short time a member of the staff which excavated the site of Bethel in Palestine, and most of his research and publication has been in Biblical archeology, although he published last year *The Challenge of Israel's Faith*. He is the editor of *The Biblical Archaeologist*, and in this position has done pioneer work in popularizing archeology on a sound basis. He has been mainly responsible for the Old Testament portions of this Atlas.

The other editor, Floyd V. Filson, should be well known to readers of this journal as president of the National Association of Biblical Instructors in 1944. He received the Ph.D. at Basle, Switzerland, and has published several books on the New Testa-

¹*The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*. Edited by George Ernest Wright and Floyd Vivian Filson. With an Introductory Article by William Foxwell Albright. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1945. 114 pages + 18 Plates. \$3.50.

ment, one of the most recent being *One Lord—One Faith*.

This Historical Atlas combines in a remarkable way materials from three disciplines which are necessary to the understanding of Biblical history and religion: geography, chronology, and archeology.

Biblical geography is covered mainly in the eighteen plates which contain a total of 33 color maps. They were made by latest methods of map reproduction, the cartographers being Georges A. Barrois of Princeton and Hal and Jean Arbo of Chicago. There is one relief map of Palestine (a type of map always of special importance for this country), three sectional maps showing the northern, central and southern divisions of Palestine, one plate containing four maps of Jerusalem, and one showing the excavated sites in Palestine. The rest are historical maps covering the principal periods of Biblical history. Of somewhat unique interest in a work of this kind is Plate XVI which in four maps shows the expansion of Christianity from before the time of Paul to the time of Constantine. While these maps are all very well done, it appears to this reviewer that the relief map does not depict the topography of Palestine as vividly as does the wall map, "Palestine in Third Dimension", edited by G. Frederick Owen (Beacon Hill Press).

The text accompanying the maps treats many important geographical features of Biblical lands, and many of the black-and-white illustrations add vividness to the text. The illustrations are carefully chosen and printed with unusual clearness. At the back of the Atlas is an index to the maps which is also a complete topographical concordance to the Bible.

Chronology is "the backbone of history", as Albright observes in his introductory article, however difficult it may often appear to both students and teachers. An important and exceedingly useful feature of

this Atlas is the "Chronological Outline of Ancient History" on pages 15-16. This gives in condensed but easily accessible form the more important dates for ancient, and especially Biblical, history. Up to the period of the Hebrew kings an independent system of dates is used, incorporating the latest results in chronology; for the period of the Hebrew kings, the system of J. Begrich is adopted; and for the Hellenistic and Roman periods the dates of the Cambridge Ancient History are followed. While these dates may not in every instance be entirely correct, they are generally reliable. In his introductory article Albright has a brief section on "How Ancient Dates are Fixed," discussing discoveries which now make chronological systems much more exact than formerly.

"We have run most of the questions to earth: it only remains to dig them up," wrote Sir George Adam Smith in the preface to the first edition of his work mentioned above. Since he wrote, great progress has been made in digging up the answers to many questions raised by the Bible. It is perhaps the greatest merit of Wright and Filson's work that they present in well-integrated and clearly written fashion many of the results of modern Biblical archeology.

The introductory article has a brief section on "How We Excavate in the Near East" and one chapter of the Atlas is a history of excavations in modern Palestine. The accompanying plate (XVIII) is a map showing the excavated sites in modern Palestine. But these chapters do not contain the most significant utilization of archeological findings. The editors say frankly that a large part of the text and the maps themselves would have been impossible without the many years of digging and surface exploration in the Near East. They have wisely integrated into the text most of the important results of such work. In some cases they have used archeological material in a book of this nature for the first time. Ex-

amples may be seen in the discussions of the patriarchal period, the religion of the Canaanites, and the era of the exodus from Egypt and conquest of Palestine. In fact, the historical portions of the text of this volume contain the best brief summary of Biblical history, utilizing the results of archeology and epigraphy, known to this reviewer. They are a masterpiece of condensation.

In a work as large and ambitious as this, there are necessarily many minor points on which the editors may be criticized. To offer criticism is not to detract from the general success of their undertaking. This reviewer will give only two examples. The location of Mt. Sinai at the traditional site in the southern part of the Peninsula of Sinai seems very doubtful. A location in or very near the Land of Midian at the northern end of the Gulf of Aqabah would seem to satisfy better both historical and geographical requirements. But the editors rightly point out the difficulties in their location of the site, and are not dogmatic. The other criticism is that there is an element of artificiality in the map showing "Palestine during the Period of the Judges" and the accompanying text. This feeling of artificiality is only partially dispelled in the text by the clear statement that Palestine was conquered over a period of several centuries. This artificiality is produced in part by attempting to be fair both to archeological findings and to the Biblical text. The latter certainly represents in large part later tradition—tradition that is perhaps not as late as often thought, but nevertheless much later than the events themselves.

The editors and publishers are to be heartily congratulated on the publication of the Westminster Atlas. It should find its way into every college and seminary library, many church and Sunday School libraries, and the hands of everyone who wants more than a superficial knowledge of the Scriptures.

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Latourette's *Expansion of Christianity*

REVIEWED BY CHARLES S. BRADEN

THE APPEARANCE of the final volume in the *History of the Expansion of Christianity*¹ may well serve as an occasion for reviewing not alone the single volume, which records the movement of Christian history from 1914 through 1944, but the whole series. This last volume is perhaps the most interesting to those of us whose adult life spans the period, and who have been participants in the life of organized Christianity during that time. We are at home in it. We have not merely read about what he records but have been in some sense actors in the unfolding drama. On it we feel better able to pronounce judgment.

On the whole it is a thrilling story and well told. No part of the world escapes the author's scrutiny, and while the reports on some sections of the world since the outbreak of World War II are very fragmentary, it is a source of genuine satisfaction to read information from those lands concerning which the casual reader hears almost nothing at all. This alone is a great service. It is heartening to know that behind the walls of secrecy imposed by war, the gospel is still being preached and the kingdom advanced even within "enemy countries."

To this period he has applied the same method used throughout the series. He has asked through what movements the expansion of Christianity has been accomplished, and has reported what few authors have attempted, the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox Catholic and Protestant efforts at expansion; that is, he has recognized that Christianity must include the work of all three great branches of the church. This is a

genuine contribution to Christians of all types. It is valuable to know by what methods other churches than one's own seek to spread their faith. Then he seeks to evaluate the effect of Christianity upon the environment. How has Christianity in its various forms influenced the individual and corporate life of the peoples among whom it has worked? This calls undoubtedly for subjective evaluation of Christianity's impact, and it must be said that not everyone will agree with the author's judgment. But it must also be said that few people have so broad an acquaintance with the interplay of Christianity and its environment, because few have ever surveyed so carefully the various epochs with the definite purpose of discovering the facts. One must at least respect his judgment even when disagreement seems called for.

But these questions do not tell the whole story. Christianity not only influences the environment, but is in turn profoundly influenced by that environment. This, too, the author attempts to assess. Particularly interesting are his estimates of the degree to which Christianity has been affected during the fast moving decades of this century when the forces of nationalism and racism have asserted themselves with a violence not before known. Little wonder that Christianity has been profoundly influenced in countries like Russia under Communism, Germany under Nazism, China, under the revolution and the rise of a national consciousness, and Japan during the outthrust of its vigorous imperialism in the twentieth century.

He continues in this as in other volumes the valuable summaries at the end of each major section. If one should read only these summary sections of the seven vol-

¹Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Advance Through Storm*. Vol. VII, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1945. 542 pages. \$4.00.

umes without the supporting detailed evidence, he would get a marvelous story of the spread of Christianity around the world. One is led to believe that publication of just the summaries alone would well serve the general reader who lacks the time or the patience or interest to plow through the thousands of pages of the whole bulky study.

As a matter of fact, this has really been done in slightly different ways in two books that Dr. Latourette has had time to write and publish while pushing his monumental study to completion, under the titles *Anno Domini* and *The Unquenchable Light*. To these the layreader may well go for a bird's-eye view of the whole and for what one may well call his philosophy of Christian history.

The series as a whole will be an indispensable tool hereafter for all who work in the field of church history and missions. It is of supreme value in the richness of its bibliography. Much of the parts covering the more modern periods rests upon original source material of a rather ephemeral nature, which unless preserved in some larger work like this soon vanishes; also upon regional studies of limited interest, published by obscure and out of the way publishing houses that frequently fail to find a place in the reference libraries where they stand a chance of being preserved. Not a little of the information came likewise from personal observation of the author in his own missionary career and subsequent travels in the lands of which he writes. Also he has gleaned valuable material through correspondence with many persons engaged in missionary service throughout the world. The entire work is meticulously documented, almost to excess one might think, yet not from the standpoint of the historian and other scholars.

One could wish that the literary style were more attractive. Perhaps that is too much to expect from the plodding scholar.

It is readable, though dull in spots from the inherent dullness of the period. It is doubtless difficult to grow lyric as to what societies moved into a field during a decade and what cities they occupied. But there are great movements also to be recorded. There are great moments, charged with dramatic significance, sometimes tragic, sometimes triumphant, which might call for variety in expression. One longs for relief from the tedium of the narrative, and only now and then is there any significant modification of style. This is the worst that can be said of the series as a whole.

A brief recapitulation of the entire series will recall to the reader's mind the vast range covered by the study. Volume I surveyed *The First Five Centuries*; Volume II, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty*, carried the story through to the beginning of the modern age; Volume III dealt with *Three Centuries of Advance*, recounting the growth of Christianity from 1500-1800. The story of *The Great Century*, 1800-1914 required three volumes; Volume IV, Europe and the United States; Volume V, The Americas (outside the United States), Australia and Africa; Volume VI, Northern Africa and Asia. Volume VII completes the story, 1914-1944, under the title *Advance Through Storm* and ends with a chapter on "the conclusion of the whole matter." Here the author has finished with the past. What of the future? Does the story of the past throw any light on what is yet to be? Definitely it does and the book ends on a note of faith. "It is of the very core of the Christian's faith," he writes, "that the God and Father of his Lord, Jesus Christ will not be defeated . . . if not within the long span which men call history, itself but a moment against the background of sidereal time, then beyond history God's purpose will be fully realized."

The whole Christian world is deeply in the author's debt for the painstaking and prolonged labor which has brought the volumes to birth.

BOOK REVIEWS

Palestine

Palestine, Land of Promise. By WALTER CLAY LOWDERMILK. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1944. 236 pages. \$2.50.

Tiny Palestine, which to the ancient Hebrews was the Promised Land, has been called in recent years the "too-much-promised" land,—that is, promised to both Jews and Arabs, and given to neither. In the present volume we are told that this little country is a Land of Promise, with great potentialities for material prosperity in the future, by a scientist who is a trained and experienced soil conservationist and a man of vision. He believes that, if his proposals are adopted, Palestine can absorb a population of at least four million persons in addition to its present population of 1,800,000.

The most daring of Dr. Lowdermilk's proposals, and the heart of his scheme, is the creation of a Jordan Valley Authority, a JVA which would be a Palestinian counterpart to our TVA. This would involve a comprehensive, regional approach to the problems of soil reclamation and conservation, industrial development, and the like. The plan calls for diversion of some of the fresh water of the Upper Jordan, Yarmuk and Zerqa Rivers into open canals or closed conduits for irrigating the slopes and floors of the Jordan Valley. Some water would be diverted above Lake Huleh to provide irrigation in the Plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel and possibly in some of the Galilean valleys. In order to compensate the Jordan River for loss of water, and to make possible the development of hydro-electric power, the author proposes the building of a canal and tunnel from the Mediterranean Sea, near Haifa, to the edge of the Jordan chasm. Such a project could lead to the development of more electrical power than is now generated at Norris Dam.

In addition to these projects, JVA would, in keeping with its basic theory of regional approach, control soil erosion in various ways, aid in reforestation, assist in the extraction of minerals from the Dead Sea, and so on. Among its most important functions would be to make supplementary the two economies of grazing and farming which throughout past millennia have been antagonistic.

The author has not only drawn up fairly detailed plans for the technical engineering phases of his proposals (not presented here, but worked out and submitted to certain American engineers who have approved them), but has even considered problems such as financing the projects and securing equipment to carry them out. He suggests that at the end of the present war there will be much military equipment in the Near East which can be converted into engineering tools. The modern version of "beating swords into plowshares" will be the conversion of tanks into bulldozers. As for financing, he recommends public international sponsorship.

The present reviewer is not competent to criticize the technical details of this book's proposals, but he believes that the engineering difficulties will be much more easily surmounted than those of settling human relations in the Holy Land in such a manner as to make the plans workable. Yet, one may well hope that even these difficulties can be overcome. As a resident in the TVA region, this reviewer is very grateful for TVA once every month when he pays his bill for electricity, and he knows that TVA has been a very great boon to this region as well as a sound financial success.

The author of this book is a former Rhodes Scholar who has the Ph.D degree from the University of California, and who

has had wide and varied experience in soil conservation and related fields. At present he is Associate Chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. His conclusions in this volume are based upon both study of the history of Palestine and a survey of the present situation in that land.

In discussing the history of Palestinian agriculture, Lowdermilk expresses the opinion that the present barren state of many parts of the country is not due to change of climate (as Ellsworth Huntington thought) or any other "acts of God," but to the errors of men. These have been compounded of poor agricultural methods and shortsighted governmental policies. The great watershed in the history of agriculture is the seventh century A. D. Before that time fairly good methods were followed, including especially the building and maintaining of hillside terraces to prevent soil erosion, but since the Moslem invasion from the desert the soil of Palestine has declined. An all-time low in population was reached in 1850 when the number was only 200,000. This was due in part to the policies of the Turkish government, which even taxed trees and vines. This number should be compared with the estimated population of three million in Palestine and Transjordan at the beginning of the Christian Era. In ancient times Transjordan and the Negeb especially were more fertile than now.

In the course of his studies Lowdermilk apparently became an enthusiastic convert to Zionism. Whether one agrees with his political attitude or not, one must admit that the Jews have in many instances done a remarkable work of soil reclamation and conservation, and that Jewish immigration has in some respects brought benefit to the Arabs. However, the political situation in Palestine is probably more complicated than Dr. Lowdermilk and most Americans think.

In the front of this volume is printed an "Eleventh Commandment," which was written by the author and broadcast by him over

the Jerusalem radio in June, 1939. This review might well close by quoting it in full: "Thou shalt inherit the holy earth as a faithful steward conserving its resources and productivity from generation to generation. Thou shalt safeguard thy fields from soil erosion, thy living waters from drying up, thy forests from desolation, and protect thy hills from overgrazing by the herds, that thy descendants may have abundance forever. If any shall fail in this stewardship of the land, thy fruitful fields shall become sterile stony ground or wasting gullies, and thy descendants shall decrease and live in poverty or perish from off the face of the earth."

J. PHILIP HYATT.

*School of Religion,
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The Bible

The Bible and the Common Reader. By MARY ELLEN CHASE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. Xi + 116 pages. \$2.50.

It is against the modern background that the book under review is written. The author is not a biblical specialist but a teacher of English literature; and her approach is to the Bible as classic literature. She has attained standing as a novelist and is now trying to tell the literary story of the Bible.

After a brief survey of the characteristics of biblical literature and the highlights of biblical history that called it forth, she discusses the literary character of the creation legends, the patriarchal sagas and the stories of the great leaders from Moses to Elijah and Elisha. Of the "writing" prophets, as distinguished from the "speaking" prophets, she covers the historical background, the messages, and their literary form, of a selected list: Amos, Hosea, the great Isaiah, Jeremiah, Nahum, Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah. Under "The Fiction of the Bible," the author deals with Ruth, Jonah, and Esther. The Book of Job receives fuller treatment. Poetical anthologies are illustrated with the Song of Songs and selections

from the Psalms. The wisdom of proverbial writing, the sceptical Koheleth or Ecclesiastes, and Daniel complete the Old Testament. The New Testament comprises Luke's Gospel and Acts, the Pauline letters, and Revelation.

The author has based her conclusions on a few well selected books representing modern views of which she gives a list for further study. The book is well calculated to be of service as an introduction to the modern attitude to the Bible and to stimulate further study.

In strangest incongruity with her modern outlook appears the author's championship of the Authorized or King James Bible. Fortunately, the Revised Version and preferably in the form of Moulton's one volume Modern Reader's Bible, published also by Macmillan, to which the common reader has a rightful claim as the better tool for better work, may be substituted without affecting the author's purpose.

ISMAR J. PERITZ.

Winter Park, Florida.

Paul For Everyone. By CHESTER WARREN QUIMBY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 176 pages. \$2.00.

A gun has to be a hundred times as heavy as the shot it fires. Behind this little book by a former president of NABI is weighty and sound scholarship. "Everyone" takes in the technical scholar, and he will appreciate the accuracy of the material and commend the simplicity and lucidity of its presentation. "Everyone" includes the thoughtful plain person not learned in the details of Pauline research but interested in and appreciative of the meaning of Paul for Christian experience. Such a reader will appreciate the clarity and helpfulness with which the material is treated and be impressed by the frankness with which the difficulties and uncertainties are stated. There is no dogmatism in the book.

The chapter on "The Pastor Teacher—His Letters: Their Contents" is a Bible

reader's digest of Paul's writings. "The Gospel Preacher—His Message" is a first-rate interpretation of Romans. There are two very interesting and valuable diagrams: "Paul's Scheme of the Universe," and "Paul's Scheme of Salvation." On the front and back end papers are maps of "Paul's Journeys" and "Paul's Journeys on U. S. Map," (on both of which the misspelled "Reghium" stands out like a sore thumb). If any one part of the book is more valuable than another, it is the "Pauline Dictionary," thirteen pages of lucid definitions of terms.

ELMER W. K. MOULD.

Elmira College.

Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms.

By JOHN HASTINGS PATTON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944. ix+68 pages. \$1.50.

Scholarly study of the cuneiform texts discovered at Ras esh-Shamra in Syria has now reached the stage where it is possible to discuss parallels between Ugaritic literature and specific sections of the Hebrew Bible. The present volume is a comparison of the Masoretic Text of the *Psalms* and the Ras Shamra texts. Such comparison is appropriate, because the Ugaritic texts are largely religious poetry (although mostly mythological, rather than literature of devotion, like the *Psalms*). This is a careful and fruitful study, apparently first made as a Ph.D. dissertation at Johns Hopkins University under the direction of Professor W. F. Albright. Its importance is far out of proportion to its modest size.

For the non-Hebraist the most important chapter is the second, entitled "Thought Patterns." It shows in detail that the Hebrews conceived of their deity, Yahweh, in terms similar to those employed by the people of Ugarit in thinking of their gods, especially El and Baal. The chapter may be taken as a brief summary of Ugaritic "theology."

The other chapters will be of interest mainly to those who know Hebrew. The

first, on "Literary Forms," discusses Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry. Patton says that the most common meter of Ugaritic is that of three accents to the stich (a better term than his "hemistich"). The number of syllables in each stich varies between seven and eleven, with the majority falling at nine. He shows that in addition to the accentual metric measurement, Ugaritic frequently employed a careful arrangement of sentence units, and believes that this may have been used in Hebrew poetry as well. This latter may well be true, but it is doubtful whether the counting of syllables is of much importance in Old Testament poetry (although, of course, a great excess of syllables rightly leads to suspicion). The careful analysis of Ugaritic poetry undoubtedly aids in the understanding of Hebrew prosody.

The third and fourth chapters deal with "Word Patterns" and "Word Parallels." They reveal that Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry employ both phrases and single words that are similar. In some instances Ugaritic aids in translating individual Psalms. A striking example is Psalm 137:5, where we should translate: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand waste away." Similarly in Pss. 102:4 and 77:9, the verb usually translated "forget" should be rendered "waste away." The contributions made by Ugaritic to Hebrew lexicography are fast multiplying.

The conclusion reached by the author is that there was "a direct influence of the Canaanite of Ugarit upon the composition of the Psalms" (p. 48). He is careful to state, however, that the differences and contrasts between Canaanite literature and the Psalms are great. Study of Canaanite parallels frequently illuminates the Old Testament, but does not detract from its spiritual and moral grandeur.

A bibliography and carefully made indices add to the usefulness of this work.

J. PHILIP HYATT.

*School of Religion,
Vanderbilt University.*

Christianity

The Philosophical Heritage of the Christian Faith. By HAROLD A. BOSLEY. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1944. 190 Pages. \$2.00.

This is a vigorous but nontechnical study of "some of the various ways in which the insights and emphases of the amazingly rich philosophical tradition of Western civilization have become the intellectual framework of the Christian faith." Philosophy in the service of religion is the main theme. Philosophy is judged to be "a critical, speculative, rational discipline" with an embarrassing penchant for asking meaningful questions, but also with a paying way of coming out to substantial and significant conclusions. The author knows his way around among the great thinkers, and seems to do justice to their methods and findings. He pays special attention to the structural ideas of Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas as having contributed most to the formulations of Christian theology. (A group of 55 pages of carefully chosen selections from the writings of the first three forms a valuable appendix to the book).

The author begins his discussion by portraying the significant ways in which the earliest Christian formulation of ideas was constantly developing, largely affected by its coming to terms with Greek thought. Against that fact, the rôle of philosophy relative to religion is presented. Then follow solid chapters which discuss the contributions of these great thinkers to the Christian view and valuation of Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and Love. At the last the author turns from ancient thinkers to those of today, and constructively outlines the evidences for love as the great principle of integration ceaselessly at work at the heart of things in this universe. Here, he argues, both modern knowledge and the Christian religion combine to add something immensely important to ancient thought. "The most creative new fact which the Christian faith brought to its marriage with Greek thought was the con-

viction of the reality of love as a fundamental principle for interpreting life and the universe." Throughout, the discussion is clear-headed, sufficiently meaty, and interesting. A brief but good bibliography is supplied for readers who may want to go further.

Applications of his findings to religious thought and to the business of preaching are specific and frequent. In the middle of the book Dr. Bosley summarizes thus: "Religion owes philosophy a debt of incalculable proportions. Not only has philosophy helped us get rid of many of our erroneous notions; she has renewed our confidence in many ideas, beliefs and ideals which have a long religious ancestry. She has helped us purge our idea of God of many of its anthropomorphic qualities. She fought to control the ravages that the notion of the depravity of human nature let loose in religion and in human affairs generally. She has helped us believe in the essential dependability of the universe, of reason, and of human nature."

HORACE T. HOUF

Ohio University

The Church Looks Forward. By WILLIAM TEMPLE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 192 pages. \$2.00.

The untimely death of William Temple gives special importance to this book. Known for his scholarship, his profound thinking in the realm of theology, and his earnest desire to find a platform on which churchmen of all shades of evangelical faith might meet, worship and work together, Archbishop Temple will be remembered as a man who spent himself for the elimination of social and economic inequalities. He insisted again and again that one man's storehouse of reserve food means another man's empty cupboard.

In his preface Dr. Temple says, "Our need is a new integration of life: Religion, Art, Science, Politics, Education, Industry, Commerce, Finance—all these need to be brought into a unity as agents of a single

purpose. That purpose can hardly be found in human aspirations; it must be the divine purpose. That divine purpose is presented to us in the Bible under the name of the Kingdom (Sovereignty) of God, or as the summing up of all things in Christ, or as the coming-down out of heaven of the holy city, the New Jerusalem."

These addresses are arresting. There is scarcely one of them that will not challenge debate. Dr. Temple attached special importance to the address on "The Crisis of Western Civilization." He sees in this war a struggle between two completely opposed theories of life. "The United Nations are standing, though with great variations of emphasis and of interpretation, for freedom, justice and supremacy of moral law; the Axis Powers stand for the State as an object of supreme allegiance and as a concentration of power unamenable to any higher authority or law." Not until the war fever has subsided, and peace been restored, will the world be able to accept or reject such a general statement. The volume includes twenty-five addresses, and all are worth reading.

JOHN GARDNER

The Community Church,
Garden City, N. Y.

History of Religion

Hinduism and Buddhism. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944. 86 pages. \$1.75.

This little volume with its engagingly brief title is not, as might at first be inferred, a book for beginners. On the contrary it takes for granted ample acquaintance with India's religious literature and preliminary knowledge of its basic terminology. Dr. Coomaraswamy, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, here undertakes to state concisely and with careful and continuous reference to primary sources his matured grasp of the essence of Indian religious tradition. India's highest thought he regards as important be-

cause it is one form of the *Philosophia Perennis* whose universal truths lie open to every people and age when insight rises to them.

In exposition the author does not use historical method. Unlike such Indianists as Lionel Barnett, Nicol Macnicol and La Vallée-Poussin he does not trace stages in development of doctrine. Instead, he follows the orthodox Indian technique of detecting timeless truths through meditation over many texts until affirmations rise which can be checked closely by their authority. Lifelong study of Sanskrit and Pali texts enables him to carry through this method effectively and with ripe erudition. For the historically-minded student this is seen to involve a certain backward reading into primitive texts of profound ideas later developed. From the angle of Coomaraswamy's approach, however, that does not matter for the revelation (*sruti*) is already present in the picturings of primitive myth.

In general, the author finds Hinduism and Buddhism to be two forms of what might be called ultimate mystery religion. In each there is a myth concerning death and regeneration. In Hinduism, under many mythological guises, the One Universal Self differentiates and is dismembered throughout the particulars of existence. In Buddhism the Eternal Being descends from heaven to save both men and gods from the mortality of ignorance and suffering. In Hinduism the return and new birth is by transcending the illusion of separateness. In Buddhism it is by awaking to the truth of the Eternal Law. In both there is something to be done toward the supreme end: in Hinduism a way of works or Sacrifice, in Buddhism an ethic preparatory to final release of the individual in *Nirvāṇa*. Both religions, however, mean the same thing. They are aspects of one ultimate teaching. It is one eternal First Principle that is signified by the names Brahma and Buddha as well as by the older Vedic names of *Prajāpati*, *Agni*, *Indra*, etc. The penulti-

mate truth is that there is one Inner Being of all things, whose realisation as the true Self beyond all individual bodily and mental accidents is the goal of all Indian higher religion. Also, Coomaraswamy would add, it is in some sense the goal of all the great religious teachers of the world. Among the many references in his learned notes he cites parallel utterances from Plato, Plotinus, the Gospels, Paul, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Meister Eckhart, Behman, and William Blake to indicate the universality of India's religious insight.

Since this work definitely sets aside the historical approach with its many questions of chronology and development, criticism from that angle is gratuitous. We merely observe that the strong assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism involves treating the Buddha legend as solar myth (p. 50), after the hypothesis of Kern and Senart, and finding the eternal meaning of Buddha in the *Saddharma Pundarika* (Note 180), thus reducing the gentle human teacher of the earlier texts to a symbol. Such treatment flatly contradicts the alternate euhemerist hypothesis that mythological elements may be interpreted as later growths upon the life and teaching of a historic founder. Such questions aside, however, there is no doubt that in this volume Dr. Coomaraswamy has given us a suggestive vision of India's higher faith and more than a suggestion of his philosophy of religion.

CLARENCE H. HAMILTON

Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

This is Judaism. By FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN. Chicago: Willett, Clark Co., 1945. 238 pages. \$2.50.

A more accurate title for this book might be "This is Reform Judaism," for while he does say many things that are true concerning Judaism as a whole, it is particularly the point of view of Reform Judaism which he presents. For a long time, as a teacher of the history of religion, I have been looking for a brief yet comprehensive and fairly sim-

ply written account of Judaism, its origin, development and present outlook, which I could put into the hands of students, particularly young Jewish students. This book exactly fulfills the need I have felt and my guess is that other teachers of religion will find it equally satisfying.

It is written in a very readable style. One can read it without great effort and with genuine pleasure. It discusses just the phases of Judaism about which one wants to know most.

Typical of the informal approach to his subject, the book begins with the questions "Do you eat ham?", which may seem to the reader as the author suggests, probably frivolous or irreverent. Yet it is precisely the kind of question which is frequently asked of a Jew, and the answer to the question and the explanations which his answers call for lets one right in to the middle of Judaism with its round of dietary laws, ceremonial requirements, festivals and other special features, and it is an interesting way into the subject. The book is in three parts. The first part "From Primitive Semitism to Prophetic Judaism" carries the story from the earliest period of Hebrew history down to the completion of the Hebrew Bible. It is at once a rapid-running history of the development of the Hebrew people and at the same time an explanation of the appearance of the various sections of the Old Testament. It would make excellent supplementary reading in an introductory course in the study of the Old Testament. It is simpler than most Old Testament introductions and yet it brings together the results of the best Old Testament scholarship and gives in a brief concise form an excellent picture of the making of the entire Old Testament. The second part of the book deals with "The Fundamentals of Judaism and Its Theology." Herein are discussed such topics as the universality of religion, the belief in God, man in prophetic religion, the nature of the Bible, miracles, prayer, immortality, the Messiah and Jesus, a son of the synagogue.

This latter is an excellent brief discussion of the attitudes of modern Reform Jewish leaders toward Jesus. The third part is "The Application of Judaism to Life." Here he discusses the religious ceremonies, festivals, anti-Semitism, Zionism, democracy, race relations, Jewish missionary enterprises, social justice, world peace, marriage and intermarriage, Judaism and Christianity, the Jewish congregation, and the Rabbi.

None of these topics is discussed at great length, yet each is treated in sufficient detail to satisfy the average student in the field of religion and is an excellent introduction to more detailed study. I do not know where one would find a more satisfactory book for supplementary reading concerning Judaism for courses in the history of religion and the Old Testament. It ought to be in every public and college library and on the library shelves of all teachers of religion.

CHARLES S. BRADEN.

Northwestern University.

The Jewish Community. Its History and Structure to the American Revolution. By SALO WITTMAYER BARON, Three Volumes. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society. 1942. \$7.50.

Tracing the various functions and aspects of the post-exilic Jewish community to their early beginnings in Biblical times, Dr. Baron has rendered a twofold service to students of the Bible: he has presented a well rounded picture of "the Palestinian Municipality" of old and demonstrated in the other chapters of his latest contribution that the end of Jewish national independence and the exile of the Jewish people did not put an end to the promising beginnings of the Jewish community in Bible times but proved, if anything, a stimulus toward evolving new and much needed communal agencies and forms of communal life as instruments of Jewish survival.

As in his *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Dr. Baron has again relegated reference notes, bibliographies and indices

to a special volume, the third. There is little material on the Jewish community which has escaped the eye of Dr. Baron. His critical bibliographical notes will be indispensable to any one who would choose to write on any aspect of the Jewish community. A two-hundred-and-thirty-two-page-index, superbly designed and arranged, conveniently unlocks the huge amount of information stored away in the text and in the notes of "The Jewish Community."

To be sure, a work of such scope cannot be expected to be free from minor flaws and errors. Some of these have been conveniently tabulated by Drs. Joshua Bloch and Cecil Roth in the *Journal of Jewish Bibliography* for July, 1943.

TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN.

The Jewish Spectator.

Religion in Literature

Lands Away. By EARL MARLATT. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1944. 179 pages. \$1.50.

If we would know the best of which the human spirit is capable, we should study the stories of great souls. They can be discovered if one has a discerning eye. Dean Marlatt of the Boston University School of Theology has written *Lands Away* with the insight of a poet who feels the spiritual beauty and power of the people he has met both in literature and in life and who describes them with sympathy and prophetic vision. The main purpose of the book is to lead the reader to a deeper comprehension of the values portrayed in the best recent fiction, poetry, and drama. Dean Marlatt reviews such novels as La Farge's *Laughing Boy*, Mary Ellen Chase's *Windswept*, and Ruth Suckow's *New Hope*. He gives vivid personal accounts of his contacts with Edwin Markham, Katharine Lee Bates, and Catherine Breshkovsky, illustrated with well-chosen poems of his own. The chapter on drama is an introduction to the spiritual values in plays like *Liliom*, *R. U. R.*, *The Green Pastures*, and the *Passion Play* of

Oberammergau. All the essays are written in a unique poetic prose.

The book furnishes a wealth of illustrative material for the teacher or preacher. But it is more significant as an assertion of faith in the new dawn which must follow the dark night of our present suffering and strife.

JANNETTE E. NEWHALL

Andover-Harvard Theological Library

Orestes Brownson: Yankee, Radical Catholic. By THEODORE MAYNARD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. 456 pages. \$3.00.

"I trust I shall always have the honor of being regarded by my friends and associates as impolitic, as rash, imprudent, and impractical." So wrote the subject of this biography and so he lived. Starting out as a staunch Calvinist he swung through the religious gamut ending up as a Catholic, but ever a stormy petrel.

The story of Orestes Brownson has often been written before, the best record perhaps preserved in the three-volume life by his son. However, it remained for some scholar to deal adequately with his years as a Catholic. For this task Theodore Maynard is adequately fitted. He too, went through a spiritual pilgrimage somewhat similar to that of Brownson if not so stormy a passage. Educated in England, after a brief period of study for the Congregational ministry, he received the Dominican habit after having become a member of the Catholic church. However, he soon forsook that habit for free-lance journalism in London, but after coming to America in 1920 he settled down with his family, teaching at several Catholic universities.

His *Story of American Catholicism* marks him as one competent to study Brownson in his life in the Church. Making careful use of the main collection of Brownson documents to be found at the University of Notre Dame, and other documents in the Paulist Archives in New York, and the Library of Congress, he has produced a scholarly well-

documented report which should long prove to be the standard work in the field.

The worst that can be said of Brownson is that he was often in advance of his times. Yet one will appreciate his position better who has learned to know him through the researches of Theodore Maynard.

IVAN GEROULD GRIMSHAW.
American International College.

Psychotherapy

The Church and Psychotherapy. By KARL R. STOLZ. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943. 312 pages. \$2.50.

The movement to bring the techniques of psychotherapy to the aid of the pastoral ministry is producing a significant literature. This is the third contribution along this line from the pen of the late Karl Stolz. He has made an important contribution to the integration needed in this field, for psychology has developed in an atmosphere of mechanism, and there has been a tendency for the naturalistic emphasis to take over in this area.

The student of religion who is also familiar with the works of modern clinical psychology will find little in the volume that is new, in fact, he will be disappointed, perhaps, that the work is not more fully devoted to the statement of clinical procedures which might be practiced by the pastor. The work is written as an introduction for young ministers and needs to be supplemented with more technical works in psychology.

The aim of the author is to show that modern techniques supplement rather than displace the traditional therapies of the church, such as prayer, confession, religious instruction, conversion, etc. He opens with a section on the therapeutic practices of Jesus, trying to find, not very convincingly, the marks of modern practice. The treatment of traditional pastoral practice is better handled. But the chief value resides in the suggestions for co-operative effort between medicine and the church. The psychiatrist is not

going to replace the pastor, but there is now an unhappy antagonism between them. In many cases they are "like two men struggling in the dark to attain the same objective. Each gets in the way of the other." The division of labor is well outlined in an intelligent program of co-operation. The responsibility lies chiefly with the pastor. He is in touch with the people and has access to homes. Psychiatrists are few and remote. The pastor should therefore understand the problems, especially the distinction between neuroses and psychoses. Without medical training he should be able to recognize psychoses, which must always be referred to the medical man. But many fundamental neuroses have their roots in normal and religious maladjustments where the minister should be fully qualified to diagnose and treat.

A wide variety of subjects of interest to churchmen are handled in a wise manner. The chapter on "Vocational Neuroses of the Minister" might alone repay an investment in the book, even for college professors. The work closes with a discussion of the personality hazards in narrow sectarianism and the value of the higher ecumenicity. It has also an excellent glossary of psychological terms.

ALBION ROY KING.

Cornell College.

Worship

The Genius of Public Worship. By CHARLES H. HEIMSATH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944. \$2.50.

The Way of Worship. By SCOTT FRANCIS BRENNER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. \$2.00.

Here are two very good books on worship that are entirely different one from another. Dr. Heimsath engages in an urbane and charitable conversation with the general reader about the various practices and aspects of that common human experience known as public worship. The whole conversation might easily have taken place in one of the comfortable parlors of Dr. Heimsath's

First Baptist Church in Evanston. Not a single pedantic sentence breaks the conversational charm and quality of the book.

Though Dr. Heimsath has written his account of worship for the general reader, no clergyman or student of religion can read it without profit. In this book the writer describes his visits to the representative churches of Christendom. Out of these first hand observations of the service in Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Quaker and other churches, comes his insight into the meaning and practice of liturgy and ceremonial. One of the happy features of the book is Dr. Heimsath's habit of doing more than just offering a description or explanation of liturgical practice. He describes the service from the position of the average man who may have dropped into church to worship. Then he attempts to answer the average man's questions and deal with his difficulties regarding it.

Very comforting to the clergy are the two chapters on "Public Worship and Social Action" and "The Child In the Midst." Says Dr. Heimsath, "How wide and true and particular are the ethical benefits of worship!" This proposition he develops as he analyzes the social benefits of worship in the redemption of the world. In the other chapter, our author pleads for a worship-centered, rather than a church-school centered church. He says, "If this book has a single thesis, it is that the genius of the church resides in its public ceremonial . . . Influenced mainly by the principles of secular education, religious education has largely failed in its own peculiar function of habit training." Good habits of worship is the answer.

Dr. Brenner's book on "The Way of

Worship" is competent, scholarly and emphatic. It surveys contemporary worship with the historical eye that remembers a eucharistic-centered liturgy. Perhaps the thesis of the book may be stated this way: The worship of the early church centered in the Lord's Supper. This was crystallized into the great eucharistic liturgies of the Catholic church. If the contemporary church is to become vital and ecumenical, it will again have to restore the Holy Communion as the chief and regular service in the calendar of worship.

Fine scholarship and profound conviction contribute to the development of this thesis, a combination which rightly belongs to a minister of the Reformed-Evangelical Church. Because the book is emphatic, however, many a priest and minister and liturgical craftsman will take issue with it. Perhaps the restoration of the eucharistic liturgy—whether it be a dry mass or the whole Communion—is not the only solution for greater reality in worship!

The book includes a forthright and helpful chapter on "Externals" in which Dr. Brenner discusses such interesting items as the altar and its appointments, the vestments of the clergy and the pattern and ceremonial of the liturgy. Included also are "An Ecumenical Liturgy in Outline," some excellent examples of the eucharistic prayer, an account of the Mercersburg movement, a bibliography of books with a eucharistic accent and a most helpful glossary of terms used by those who worship in the historic tradition.

CLARENCE SEIDENSPINNER.

First Methodist Church,
Racine, Wisconsin.

"He has found in the masters the common denominator of all living and presented it with a richness of anecdote that is completely rewarding."—Alice Dixon Bond, *The Boston Herald*.

Lands Away

By Earl Marlatt

Dean, Boston University School of Theology, poet,
author, widely known for his hymn *ARE YE ABLE?*

There is no frigate like a book to take us lands away.

—Emily Dickinson

Start again the glow of the darkening coals of idealism with these significant essays dealing with contemporary literature and spiritual values and, most important—people. Here is convincing proof that the divine fire of truth burns brightly today, if one can only see it. Here are provocative and beautiful studies of the literature you read in the years between the two world wars. Here is "the seed beneath the snow."

It is the author's contention that there are unmistakable evidences in the literature and life of our time that spiritual forces are now at work which are being felt in our day and which will greatly affect the future. "The literature, especially the poetry, of yesterday is sometimes the philosophy of today, the science and politics of tomorrow."

"Dean Marlatt's book will answer one oft-repeated question, 'What are values?' Any school man whose life is interwoven with the intangibles will be helped by *LANDS AWAY*."—John O. Gross, Secretary, Division of Educational Institutions, Board of Education of the Methodist Church.

"In a sense this book is about literature. But it is more than that. It is a book about the personalities who come to life in the things they wrote. It is the testimony of great souls that 'life is more than meat, and body is

more than raiment.'"—Walter L. Jenkins in *Westminster Bookman*.

"Here is a book to shake the soul awake, beautifully written in a style that sings and wings along like a clipper ship before the winds of imagination across the seas of the earth."—William L. Stidger.

"It is a garden of prose and verse freshly redolent after rain. I am grateful to it for its vision of 'lands away' where the dawns begin, and the stars still sing."—Paul Scherer.

\$1.50

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE

ABINGDON-COKESBURY PRESS

Nashville 2, Tenn.

Immortality

Can We Still Believe in Immortality? By
FREDERICK C. GRANT. Louisville, Ken-
tucky: The Cloister Press, 1944. 151
pages. \$2.00.

The form of the question indicates the mind of the author. Dr. Grant is deeply conscious of the doubt that besets many serious-minded Christians. For him the old certainty is gone. He has hope as the anchor of the soul. He feels the "urge" that is in the heart of a God-centered life. He sustains his faith by the testimony of prophets, saints and poets. But a question still remains. The book is dedicated to the memory of his mother, "whose whole life bore the testimony that goodness is supreme and everlasting." It is faith in an ever deepening love Godward and manward, a love that withstands all shocks, a love that ever sees the "becoming" personality which leads him to give affirmation of faith.

Dr. Grant states that "the trustworthiness of the belief has been assumed by much of the noblest ethics and by many of the noblest characters in history . . . it may at least be claimed that belief in it makes possible a higher kind of life." "Moreover, it is only as men come to lay hold upon a life worth making immortal, and become conscious of ends or purposes whose realization carries on beyond the confines of this world of time, space, and matter, that faith in a life to come will begin once more to seem reasonable and necessary." He starts by stating "why the question is asked," then discusses "The Christian Belief in Immortality," "Immortality in Modern Thought," and concludes with his question, "Can we still believe in Immortality?" The reader will be impressed by the sincerity as well as the scholarship of the author.

JOHN GARDNER.

The Community Church,
Garden City, N. Y.

Social Ethics

From Victory to Peace. By PAUL HUTCHINSON. New York: Willett, Clark & Company, 1943. 226 pages. \$1.50.

The theme of this book is found in a quotation from Owen Lattimore found on the title page: "The real problems of our generation are the problems of victory, even more than the problems of war."

From victory to peace. What a step! Yet how heartening is the truth of the Chinese proverb to the effect that, "Even a journey of a thousand miles begins with but one step."

Dr. Hutchinson's hope is that considered judgment shall be given even to that first step. It is his desire that the peoples of the world shall come to realize that the direction of those steps can best be determined in the light of the teachings of the Christian church. He justifies his insistence on that point by showing from secular sources that there is impressive support from the "practical" world for the main positions taken by the Christian church.

The author views with genuine alarm the fact that we know practically nothing about the plans for "waging peace" as held by the big three, Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. With the task of making peace, in fact of establishing a stable post-war order, seemingly committed almost wholly to these three men, Dr. Hutchinson expresses real apprehension that we may be drifting steadily toward a bad peace.

Dr. Hutchinson's book is frankly written to provoke discussion. For healthy discussion he feels will have a wonderful effect upon the problems we face. Out of the welter of such earnest discussion will come a realization of those things "everlastingly right."

IVAN GEROULD GRIMSHAW.

American International College.

Germany's Stepchildren. By SOLOMAN LIPTZIN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1944. xii+298 pages. \$3.00.

Professor Liptzin analyzes the problem of cultural duality in a series of fascinating biographical sketches of selected Jewish men-of-letters from Boerne and Heine to Toller, Werfel, the Zweigs, Beer-Hofmann and Buber. These intellectuals have exemplified in sharp focus a state of tension which filled the lives of German and Austrian Jews in general. Each found himself in some degree an inheritor of Jewish values. In an environment which at best was far from friendly to Jewish culture each was driven by a deep and poignant desire to play his part as a citizen of his country. This duality of loyalties which was forced on the Jews speaks eloquently of one of the weaknesses of German culture which prepared the way for the Nazis. Nevertheless, however wrong it may have been, such a duality did confront the Jews and their attempts to resolve it were most diverse.

In the nineteenth century there were frequent desertions of Judaism for Christianity. The author gives some striking examples of the forced and unsatisfactory nature of these conversions. In more recent times another way out was tried by certain Jews who sought to demonstrate their Germanism by assuming the rôle of superpatriots. Their positions ranged all the way from the mild anti-Semitism and nationalism of Rathenau to the Nazi-like pathological ravings of Weininger and Trebitsch. These Jews became men without a country. By self choice they isolated themselves from the Jewish community and the German chauvinist would not accept them because of their non-Aryan ancestry. With the rise of Socialism and

Communism there were Jews like Toller who threw themselves into some phase of these movements with wholehearted enthusiasm. These Jews also tended to repudiate the Jewish community and after much bitter experience found themselves thoroughly duped. Finally, there were multitudes of Jews like Beer-Hofmann and Buber who adhered with loyalty to the Jewish community and its heritage. It is significant that these men who lived by their heritage in a healthy-minded fashion by this very process made magnificent contributions to German culture.

Professor Liptzin suggests that his book may throw light on the problem of cultural duality in all Diaspora lands. With these suggestions in mind the reader is impelled to think often of the American future. Will we follow in some degree the German pattern with its massive injustice to the Jewish people and equally disastrous brutalization of the persecutors? Or will the temptations to assimilation be so great that people of Jewish ancestry may abandon the values of their heritage for a cheap mediocrity? Each of these courses would be a tragedy not only for the Jewish people but also for American culture. This book should help both Jews and Christians to realize their need for a deeper sense of cultural duality. Surely Germany would have had a better future if Christians as well as Jews had voluntarily developed before the rise of Hitler the sense of duality which the Nazis later forced on them. Certainly the American future will be brighter if both Jews and Christians take their stand more definitely for ideals and standards which run counter to mass ignorance and chauvinism.

EUGENE S. TANNER.

University of Tulsa.

BOOK NOTICES

People, Church and State in Modern Russia. By PAUL B. ANDERSON. New York: Macmillan Company, 1944. 240 pages. \$2.50.

Among the several good books on religion in Russia that have appeared in recent months, I regard this as the best in many ways. It is indispensable as an aid in understanding not only the historic background of the suppression of religion in Modern Russia, but what is taking place in very recent months in that much troubled country.

Paul Anderson was for a number of years a Y.M.C.A. worker in Russia, knows the language well, understands the people, and for several years was closely associated with the exiled Russian churchmen, particularly in France. He has thus been in a fortunate position to secure information bearing upon the fate of religion in Russia.

Particularly good are his discussions of Marxism and religion, the discussion of the patriarchal church and other churches, and his final chapter on a Christian basis of co-operation with Russia. While the primary aim of the book is that of interpreting what has happened to religion, one gets an amazing amount of information about Russian life and the Russian state in general. I would rank it definitely as a "must" book for anyone who is interested in Russia and her religion.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

Northwestern University

Flight to Destiny. Edited by RUTH ISABEL SEABURY. New York: The Association Press, 1945. 124 pages. \$1.25.

The whole religious world was shocked when news came that the neutral plane bearing Ted Hume on a mission of peace and understanding to the churches of war-torn Europe had been shot down by an enemy plane and that Ted had been killed. This little book is a brief interpretation for youth of Ted Hume's life. It contains a chapter, "Uncharted Voyage" by Ruth Seabury; a biographical sketch by Douglas Horton; excerpts from Ted's diary during his short stay in London; a collection of worship services for youth; seven responsive Litanies of Prayer and Silence; and a group of special prayers, by Ted.

The tributes paid him by Miss Seabury and by Dr. Horton are beautiful and well merited. The editor has done a fine service particularly in preserving and giving circulation to his worship services and prayers. Any one charged with re-

sponsibility for working with youth will find here a beauty, a simplicity and yet a depth of understanding of and statement of the Christian faith seldom found. It ought to be widely useful.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

Northwestern University

The Brother. By DOROTHY CLARKE WILSON. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1944. 325 pages. \$2.50.

The Brother is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing list of contemporary religious novels. It is well written by a practised author who is thoroughly at home in the results of New Testament study and who feels deeply the significance of her subject matter. The subject matter is doubly significant because it is not only the life of James, the brother of Jesus, but is at the same time the life of Jesus as viewed through the eyes of "the brother."

Mrs. Wilson attempts in this novel to explain the abrupt change in James' attitude following the death of Jesus by an imaginative reconstruction of the earlier relationship of James to Jesus.

On the whole, the attempt is a convincing one. One's chief doubts arise toward the conclusion of the book when James' faith in legalism seems to be profoundly shaken. If Paul's account of his and Peter's relations with James is correct, it would appear that James remained a staunch legalist after his vision of Jesus and subsequent conversion. However, this is a minor point.

This is a book that teachers will wish to encourage students of the gospels to use as collateral reading.

Beloit College

CARL E. PURINTON

We Preach Not Ourselves. By GORDON POTEAT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 185 pages. \$2.00.

There are few intelligent preachers who do not know and cherish the remarkable expositions of Paul's letters to Corinth by F. W. Robertson. For more than one hundred years nothing like them has appeared. This book by Dr. Poteat cannot be classed with Robertson of Brighton. But we think it is a book which preachers should not miss. As an exposition it has the merit of scholarship. But it is the work of a true preacher, and it makes the letter live.

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suggestion. They stimulate thought and challenge the modern preacher to give his best. Dealing with the words, "Called to be saints . . . called into the fellowship of his son Jesus Christ our Lord," Dr. Poteat says, "The position which churches in our land enjoy today is far more favorable than that of the church in Corinth. Present-day churches are the heirs of a great moral and spiritual tradition; they have a respected rather than a despised place in the community: their members have generally a much higher level of education and culture than those in Corinth at that time (cf. 1:26f). But has there been a corresponding heightening of ethical and spiritual qualifications for membership in our churches, or have we been satisfied with nominal requirements?"

There is not a paragraph in this book which will not stimulate a preacher to serious thought and purpose.

JOHN GARDNER

The Community Church,
Garden City, N. Y.

Say Yes to the Light. By ALLAN A. HUNTER.
New York: Harper & Brothers. 150 pages.
\$1.50.

The author writes under deep moral conviction. He feels keenly the sorrow that afflicts the earth. He is indignant at the shame of bombed cities, the bare breakfast tables of the underprivileged, the festering sores of racial hates. He would smite the consciences of religious people until they awake to responsibility.

Mr. Hunter believes in evolution, but progress is due to response to a creative will which has at its center goodness, justice and peace. The Light that lighteth everyone coming into the world is this God-given will and purpose. Say "yes" to it as Jesus did; accept what may happen because of your obedience, and who can tell what may ensue? Good Friday was darkness and bit-

terness to Jesus, but without it there would have been no Easter dawn.

How shall we proceed? Mr. Hunter says, "First, agree in advance that we will attempt to do the will when it is revealed. Second, make our consciences more alert and informed. Third, bring the facts, the mass of pros and cons up into the light of the presence of God and leave them there. Last of all, there is the task of waiting. If we have done honest research and referred the data to the best we know, with the understanding that we shall try to follow the insight through if and when it comes, we can relax."

Great Interviews of Jesus. By CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1944. 190 pages.
\$1.50.

Dr. Macartney is an outstanding preacher. He belongs to the evangelical tradition. He is a champion of the fundamentalist group. In this volume we see him at his best. Each sermon has a definite aim, he is preaching to save souls. Fifteen interviews of Jesus are described in vivid language; interest is aroused, feelings are analysed, the power and authority of Jesus to forgive sin is made known. The titles of the interviews arouse interest: "With a murderer and liar," meaning the devil; "With two dead men," meaning Moses and Elias; "With a man who cursed him," meaning Simon Peter.

The following is a typical climax: "Again Jesus of Nazareth is passing by! He calleth for you. Only once he called for Bartimaeus, and immediately Bartimaeus ran to him. Many times he has called for you, but you have not yet come to him. Be of good courage. Rise up, he calleth for you—you with your burden of care, you on your sick bed, you with your crushed hope, you with your disappointment, you with your loneliness, you with your temptation, you with your burden of sin. He calleth for you! He stopped once and stood still for Bartimaeus. He will stop for you. Jesus of Nazareth is passing by."

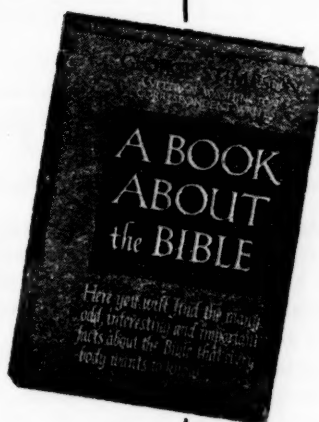
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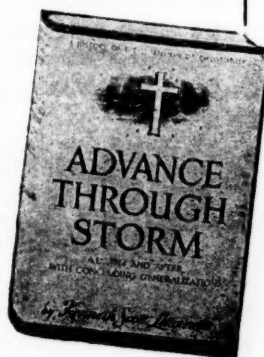
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THE ASSOCIATION

Readers of the Journal may appropriately bring to the attention of college and university officials the following list of teachers of religion who are available for positions. (This does not mean that they are at present unemployed).

Letters should be addressed to Dr. Eugene S. Ashton, Chairman, Committee on Vacancies, Goucher College, Baltimore-18, Md., who will forward all communications to the appropriate code number, thus serving to bring the institutions and the candidates in touch with each other without the responsibility of making recommendations or selections.

Information concerning possible vacancies should also be sent to Dr. Ashton.

A listing of all those enrolled this year was sent to the deans of instruction of more than 350 colleges and junior colleges which offer courses in Bible or Religion.

B-1—Man; A.B. (Lang.) Findlay College; Th.B. & Th.M. (N.T.), Princeton; Ph.D., (N.T.), U. of Edinburgh (Scotland), 13 yrs. teach. exper. Present position, minister. Desired Subj.: N.T.Gr., O.T. & N.T. Can also teach: Classical Lang., Theol., Homiletics.

C-4—Woman; A.B. Goucher; A.M. Oberlin; Ph.D., U. of Chicago. 1½ yrs. teach. exper. Present position, social worker. Desired subj.: Phil. of Rel., Phil., N.T., O. T., Hist. of Rel.

E-2—Man; A.B., Houghton; B.D., Winona; Th.M., South. Baptist; Th.D., North. Baptist; Ph.D., U. of Chicago. 2 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj.: N.T., O.T., Phil. of Rel. Can also teach: Phil.

H-1—Man; A.B. (Greek) Duke U.; M.A., B.D. (N.T.), Duke U.; S.T.M., Harvard; Ph.D. (N.T.), Brown U. 4 yrs. teach. exper. Present position, teacher. Desired subj.: N.T. Bible, Church Hist., Hist. of Rel. Can also teach; Contemp. Rel. Problems, Rel. Educ.

M-8—Man; Ph.B. (Rel. & Phil.) Brown U.;

B.D.(N.T.), Andover Newton; Th.D. (N.T.), Boston U. Theol. Sem. Present position, minister. Desired subj.: N.T., O.T., Phil. of Rel., Church Hist., Comp. Rel. Can also teach: N.T. Greek, Phil., Psych. of Rel.

N-1—Man; A.B. Cum laude, (Hist.) Maryville; Th.B. & Th.M. (Christ. Educ.), Princeton. Thesis in preparation for M.A. in Hist., U. of Pittsburgh. Present position, minister. Desired subj.: English Bible, Rel. Christian Educ. Can also teach: Hist., Phil.

R-1—Man; A.B. (Soc. Studies), Westminster; S.T.B. (Bible), Bib. Sem. N.Y.; Th.D. (N.T.), Boston U.; 2 yrs. grad. work, Harvard U., E.T.S.; Present position, minister. Desired subj.: N.T., O.T., Greek. Theol. Can also teach: Psych. Rel., Ethics, Phil. Rel., Church Hist., Pub. Spking., Germ.

T-2—Woman; A.B. (Phil.) U. of Calif.; B.D. (Phil. Rel.) S.T.M. (Psych. Rel.), Union Sem.; Ph.D. (Work completed-Phil.), Columbia U.; add. grad. work (Phil.), Radcliffe. 4 years teach. exper. Present position, teacher. Desired subj.: Phil. Rel., O.T., N.T., Theol. Can also teach: Comp. Rel., Rel. Educ., Logic.

W-3—Man; Attended U. of Mich.; Ph.B. (Classics), M.A. (N.T.), & Ph.D. (O.T.), U. of Chicago; B.D. (Bible), Chicago Theol. Sem. Holds certificate for 1 yr. of work in Palestinian Hist. at Am. Sch. of Orient. Research. 9 yrs. teach. exper. Present position, business. Desired subj.: Bible, Phil. of Rel., Church Hist. Can also teach: Rel. Educ., Comp. Rel., Grk.

W-4—Man; B.S. Union Col.; M.A. & B.D., U. of Chicago. 9 yrs. State Director Christian Education; 2 yrs. college teach. exper. Present position: pastor in a college community; grad. research in sociology. Desired subj.: Christ. sociol. and leadership, Life of Christ, Bible. Can also teach: physical sciences.